



THE
COLLECTION
Of the History of
England:

By S. D.



Printed at LONDON. 1621.

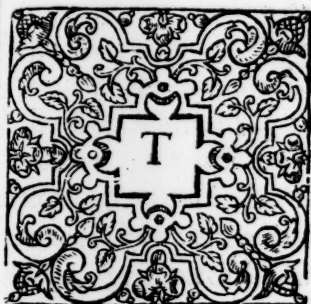
Cum Privilegio.



Daniel, Samuel, 1562-1619.



Certaine Adnertisements to the Reader.



His Peece of our History, which here I divulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy persons as haue fauoured my indeauors herein, (ould long since haue beene much more: and come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire: But being otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payd by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeeld as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the worke of one man (were hee of neuer so strong forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, although the inquisition of Ancient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I finde most Laborious: and I know, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, especially in this kinde, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Master of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of waste roomes ill proportioned, and unfurnished: and I know many others are of my minde.

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an account whence I had my furniture: which if I haue omitted to charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Lives of William the First, William the Second, Henry the First, and

TO THE READER.

Stephen; I haue especially followed William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houueden, Huntingdon, with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of others for those times. In the Liues of Henry the Second, Richard the First, Iohn, and Henry the Third: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rufhanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Weltminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, and others. In the Liues of Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Third: Froissart and Walsingham, with such collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holinghead, Stow and Speed, diligent and famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forrayne busineses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors, Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly vnderstand our owne affaires. And where otherwise I haue had any supplies extraordinary, either out of Record, or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal haue the Stampe of Antiquitie, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

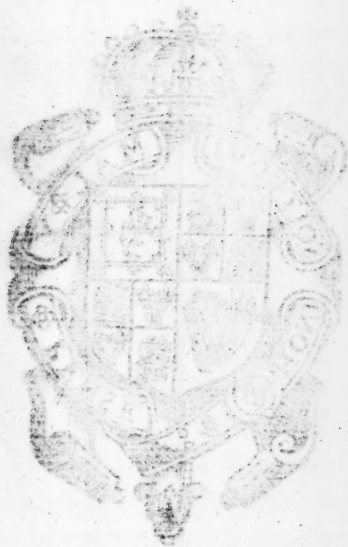
And for that I would haue this Breviarie to passe with an vn-interrupted deliury of the especiall affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainments, prouisions of Armies, busineses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which as soone as I haue meanes to Print shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make vse of such Materials; accompany this Collection: and to this Appendix, I haue made references in the Margin, as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: desirous to deliuer things done, in as euene, and quiet an order, as such an keape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe of Antiquity, deprauing the actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with integritie (the chiefe duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof

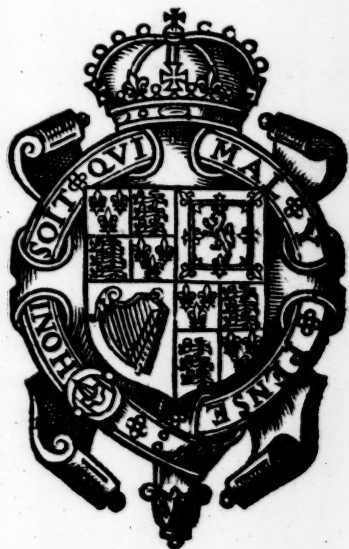
TO THE READER.

to the Reader, as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings, or the Printers ouersight, I must craue a pardon of course; it is a Fate common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoide it: For besides our owne faylings, we must heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: as the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battayle, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Tytles &c. wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars then we haue, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serues much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue bene but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. of July, and the 6. of August, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that hee desires. But these things being but of the By, the vnderstanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important consideration.



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THE
COLLECTION
OF THE HISTORIE OF
ENGLAND: CONTAINING
BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AFFAIRES
OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPI-

led by SAMVEL DANIEL, one of the
Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most
Honourable private Chamber.



Vndertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittainish Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authentical warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William* the first, Surnamed the *Bastard*) was more then enough for my abilitie: and how it was but our curiositie to search further backe into times past, then we might well discern, and whereof, wee could neither haue prooffe, nor profit: How the beginnings of all people, and States were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Rivers: and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouertie, pyracie, robbetrie, and violence, howsoever fabulous writers (to glorifie their nations) strue to abuse the credulitie of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his prouidence to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertaintie, barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stufte, but not better our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same, though rising, and falling, according to the worth, or weaknesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike: and the trayne of affaires carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, ynder like colours.

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a link of dependencie with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if wee take but a superficial view of that wide, and vncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Caesar*, beeing but on the other side in *Gaul*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state, and condition of the in-dwellers, they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledge then what concerned their trade, or the people here so warie to keepe their state reserved and vnkowne to strangers. And yet *Caesar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gauls* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof hee only subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme
of Govern-
ment among
the Brittaines.

Cæs. Comment.
lib. 4.

*Complures sunt
apud eos domi-
nationes. Sra-
bo lib. 4.*

But now, what was the state, and forme of government among the *Brittaines* before this subiection, the first certaine notice wee haue (is also by the same *Caesar*) who tells vs how they were deuided into many seuerall states: nominates foure Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Cassellannus*, by the common councill was elected, in this their publique danger, to haue the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the cities sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby we perceiue it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gauls*, with whom it was then one in religion (and much a like in fashion, and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule, or combination. As now, wee see all the west world (lately discovered) to be, and generally all other Countries are in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to be taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themselves, of strength, and vnderstanding to ouer-maister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of *Brittaine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the west parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouer-growing first the people of *Italy* in like manner deuided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then termed Kings, were but as their Generalls in warre, without any other great iurisdiction, within those small limits they heeld. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to giue entertainment to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresse in the affaires of mankind; and onely the inuention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, & *Idea* of the present Customes they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue affronted the *Romans* with the power of a well-vnited state, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to doe euen with some poore Prince of a small territorie) to haue circumvented, or confounded (with all their stratagems, and iniustice) the peace, and liberty of the world in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then simple, and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more iust, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sense of honour, and worthinesse) as themselves.

But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the aduantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such diuisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilest euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the accoumpt of aboue a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Cassellannus* (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon least being bur to report, I might seeme

seeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserved and deliuered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by the *Romans*; who (sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their coming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue bene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druides*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge committed not their mysteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene so vterly extinct, but that we should haue heard something more of them.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brough hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Linus* saith) before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world, many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germany*, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing: but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; only *Merselles*, a Colonie of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into *Gaul*, and so hither: but they say the *Mersellans* vsed onely Greeke Characters at first, but for their priuate accompts and Contracts in traffique, and no otherwise, So that it seemes then, the *Brittaines* received first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Praefect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, caused them heere to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his sonne in law) reports vpon this occasion. *Admice was taken*, sayth he, *that the people dispersed, rude, and so, apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted primarily, and ayded them publicly to the building of Temples, Bourses, Pallaces: commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, aboue the Gaules, in so much as they who lately scorned the Roman tongue, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapssion into those softnings of vices: faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of servitude.* Thus far he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cause of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the Greeke tongue, so many hundred yeares before) would haue bene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes*, and not needed this emolliation by learning. Philosophy would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subiection, that they could not haue bene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue bene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be iudged.

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Praefects: and if they had Kings of the British Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to haue Kings the instruments of seruitude: speaking of *Cogedannus*, to whom *Claudius* gaue certaine Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cesar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much, as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all-incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of government, from a Republicke to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had settled the souerainty, and posselt all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their owne accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of

Cicero Ep. ad Atticum, ubi belli Britannici exitum expectari scribit, nullum ex ea spem prede, nisi ex mancipijs, ait. ex quibus nullo puto te, literis, aut musicis eruditus expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, parit eos cum scutibus barbaris insimulat.

Ingenio Galloru partim similes sunt, partim simpliciores, & magis barbari. Strabo lib. 4.

And it was after the subiection of *Gaul* that they intertayned Philosophers, and Phisitions for publique Readings, and became a school for those parts as we may perceiue by *Strabo libro 2.*

Nostre etate, inquit Strabo, lib. 4. Regalium quidem Britannicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam Augusti Caesaris consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiarumque Ro-

manis totam
pene insulam
redegerunt. And
at that time it
seemes by
Strabo, held it
not worth the
garding, for
that it would
not quit the
charge.

subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Romane* commanders, remayned in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperor; who hauing much of the fume of glorie, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especiall eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, foreseends *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warriar, *Pro-prator* into *Brittain*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first euent is those which incusse a dauntingesse, or daring, imployd all meanes to make his expeditions fodaine, and his executions cruell. Notwithstanding did *Caradocus* (one of the British Kings) hold these great *Romans* worke for nine yeares together, and could not be surprized, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was deliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittain*, to the *Romane* Empire, which though thus won, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation; how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselves against the *Romans*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person, and State of *Queene Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, a great, and rich Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary; for no sooner was he dead, but his Kingdome was spoyled by the *Centurions*, his house ranfac't by slaues, his wife beare, & his daughters rauished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *Iceni* (as if all the Region had beene giuen in prey) were rest of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trimabantes* and others (nor yet inured to seruitude) to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Peseran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seuenthy thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipal Townes, *London*, *Virolame*, *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Gouvernour of the Prouince could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Armie (consisting of 12000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to mooue compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manly worke of liberty: which to recover, she protests to hold her selfe there but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and encouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victorie with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittaines*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons herselfe, and the miserable Country with their heauie losse, had also more weights layd vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely struggled with the *Romans*, vpon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mightie Empire, were such, as the *Brittaines* (hauing no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their blood in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their libertie) became vterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garisons, disposed in seuerall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computed in all to be 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies contayning 23. thousand foote, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romane* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raysed by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others.

Camolodunum.
now Maldon.

De Notitia vtr.
Imper. Pancio-
roul.

And in this sort continued the state of *Britaine* whilst the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a dejected nation could doe vnder the domination of strangers proude, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their substance, but also constrained their bodies to serue vnder their ensignes, when or wherefoeuer their quarrellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to be commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Casars*, and put for the whole Empire. As first *Carausius*, and after him *Alektus*, whom *Constantius* (the associate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at his first coming into *Britaine*, by *Asclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect vanquished, with all such as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Britaines*; whom to repress, *Constantius* (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in an expedition made against them died at *Torke*, whither his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, escaping a traine laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the East, with whom hee was in the warres against the *Sarmatians*, when his father came first into *Britain* against *Alektus*. And here was he now first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes he much esteemed the Country, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordering the gouernment thereof (for a future security) deuides it into siue Prouinces to be ruled by one Vice-gerent, siue Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. After whose time wee haue no certaine nor apparant marke to direct vs which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who sends *Theodosius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Brittaine* against the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones* & *Franci*, which of all sides inuaded and spoiled the Country: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Battani*, and *Heruli* cleered it, *Civilis* was sent to gouerne the Prouince, and *Dulcinus* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Cesar*, and to subuert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of *Brittaine*: and first in his way subdues *Gaule*, and there furnishes euery place of defence with *British* souldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kinde to this day. And hauing spred one Army to *Spaine*, the other to *Germany*, imbraced so great a part of the Empire, as he draue *Valentinian* to seeke ayde of *Theodosius* Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brothes *Gratianus* at *Lyons*. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land, he dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recovered like power againe. All those great forces hee tooke with him, either were left in *Gaule*, or perished with him at *Aquileia*, where hee was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Veteran* souldiers fearing the invasion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclaimed Emperour one *Marcus*, whom shortly after they slue; then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure monthes being murdered, they gaue the title to one *Constantine*, not so much for his merite, as the omission of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did, whatsoeuer strength was left, or lately in any sort recovered, he emptied it wholly, and made himselfe of that power, as hee subdued many of the Western Prouinces, gaue his sonne *Constans* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquished, and executed at *Arles*. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of *Britain*. And so the State (hauing all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and spoyle of their Northern enemies: who taking the aduantage of this dis-furnishment, neuer left till

The misery of the *Brittaines* vnder the *Romans*.

De Notitia vtriusq; Imper.

The people of *Brittaine* consumed in the factions of the Emperours.

they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, Prefect of *Gaul* vnder *Valentinian* 3. and that in so lamentable manner (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as *Aetius* was moued to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised vpon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: aduising them from thenceforth to inure and employ their own forces without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who (ouerwrought with other businesse) could not attend affaires that lay so farre off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (norwithstanding this fortification) battered down the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to *Aetius*, vsing these words: *To Aetius thrice Consul, the sighes of the Britains*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the last convulsions of a dying State; hauing all the parts, and Provinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violences of strange nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine* to be first made known to perish by, and with the *Roman* State: Which neuer suffering the people of this Land to haue any vse, or knowledge of Armes within their owne Countrey, left them (vpon their owne dissolution) naked, and exposed to all that would assaile them.

The end of
the *Romaines*
gouernment
in *Brittaine*.

Anno
443.

Gildas de ex-
cidio Britannie

And so ended the *Roman* Gouernment in *Brittaine*, which (from their first inuasion by *Iulius Cesar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of five hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seuen *Brittish* Kings nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marinus*, *Choelus*, & lastly *Lucius* who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernours.

This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* historie, concerning the State, and gouernment of *Brittain*: finding else where little certaintie, and from henceforth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereof *Gildas* the *Brittain* complains, laying the cause on the barbarism of their enemies, who had destroyed all their mounments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about forty yeeres after the inuasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discern very little thereby. Nor haue the *Brittaines* any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouer-blacks them with such vgly deformities as we can see no part cleere: accusing them to be *neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in war*: and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though no doubt there was (as euer is) in these periods of States a concurrence of disorder, and a generall loosenesse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would haue bene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider then his charity, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Anno
450.

Vortigern calls
in the *Saxons*.

Such was the State of *Britain* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* (either by vsurpation, or faction) became King, and is sayd to be the author of the first calling in (or employing, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment, and the safety of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The *Saxons* at this time posselt the third part of *Germany*, holding all the Countrey betweene the Riuers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the

the Ocean. On the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and deuided by the riuer *Visurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election of a Soueraigne leader for the businesse of warre. This beeing so spacious, populous and neere a Country, well furnisht with shipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded euer plentifull meanes to supp'y the vndertakers of this action (which were first two brothers *Hengist*, and *Horfa*) with all necessarie prouisions vpon euery fit occasion. After they had been here a while as stipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince, and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrie of *Kent* was made ouer to *Hengist* by transaction, vnder couenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And vpon the mariage of *Vortigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautiful Lady, (brought ouer of purpose to worke on the dotage of a dissolute Prince) larger priuiledges were granted: so that by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in so many of this populous, and militaty nation, that *Kent* in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their power into other parts) aduised *Vortigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all inuasions that way. Which being granted, he sends for *Otha* his brother, and sonne *Ebuse*, with great supplies out of *Saxony* to furnish that designe. And so came the *Saxons* to haue first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrie from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

A description of the State of the *Saxons*.

Hengist and *Horfa* the Leaders of the *Saxons*

Their first plantation.

And now became they of seruants maisters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* Nobility combine themselues, depose *Vortigern* (the Author of this improuident admission) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne a Prince of great worth, who (whilest hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce encounters: but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possit of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrie to receiue all supplies without resistance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And besides force, they are sayd to haue vied treachery (in murdering three hundred of the *Brittish* Nobility) at an assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but vpon the grant of three Prouinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist* (a politique leader) of almost forty yeares continuance, made much for the settling here of their estate: which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effusion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practise and often battles) grew in the end so enraged to see their Countrie surprized from vnder their feet, as they solde the inheritance thereof at a very deare rare. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthinesse of their Leaders (whence the spirit of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were, especially *Ambrosius* the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the noblest of *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage above man, and worthie to haue bene a subiect of truth to posterity, and not of fiction (as *Legendary* writers haue made him;) for whilst hee stood, hee bare vp the sinking State of his Countrie, and is said to haue encountred the *Saxons* in twelue set battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himselfe ouerthrowne by treason, the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest vnable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the inuadors, daily growing more, and more vpon them.

Vortigern is deposed. *Vortimer* elected King of *Brittain*.

King *Arthur*.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (seeing the happy successe, and plantation here of *Hengist*) entred likewise on diuerse coasts to get estates for themselues, with such multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were assaulted in another, and euery where ouerwhelmed with new increasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuse* possit of all the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Elm*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, contayning *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, inuaded the South, and West parts, and began the kingdome of the West *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hampshire*, *Bark-*

The seuerall entries made by the *Saxons*.

Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Sommerfetshire, and Deuonshire. And about the same time, *Vffa* inuaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the East Angles, containing *Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire,* and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* beganne the kingdome of the East Saxons, containing *Essex, Middlesex,* and a part of *Hartfordshire.*

Having thus (in a manner) surrounded the best of the whole State of *Brittaine*; they after invaded the inner, and middle part. And *Crida* beganne the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, contayning *Lincolnshire, North-hampshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Derby, Nottingham,* and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford,* and *Hartford*: *Warwicke, Shropshire, Lancaster,* and *Glocestershire.*

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine.* Which hauing beene so long a Prouince of great honour, and benefit to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-waies, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to bee so vtterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point vs where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not bee taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Boroughs* raised for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our Countrey, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State is very seldome scene: Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixion of their owne with the generation of the innadors. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerable populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme, and Christianity, with the immense blood-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natiues, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made only at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselves. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the subversion, but a community, and in the end a Soueraignty of the State, matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nuestria* in *France*, who also after they had the dominion, & what the victorie would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here to haue their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their body. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the vniuersall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey, or Prouince but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that ouer-ranne, and laid open the world againe to liberty, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations, and shiftings of people from one Country to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossest the *Gaules*, and gaue the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* transplanted themselves on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had

Gallicia

The *Brittaines* vtterly subdued by the *Saxons*.

The absolute subversion of *Brittaine*, concurred with the generall mutation of other States of the world

Gallicia and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Anari* subdued *Pannonia*, and there-to gaue the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards* a people of *Germany*, bordered vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall prouince, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandalles*, miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and posselt *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be vndone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happened about the same age.

Lombardie so
called of the
Longberds.

Wherefore, we are now here to beginne with a new Body of people, with a new State, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, Ruer, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and shortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the inuadors) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist-Land*, or *England*. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites and Customes, came to passe ouer vnto vs from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they first diuided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the last extermination of the *Brittaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driuen ouer *Sewerne*, 136. yeares after the first entertainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each other parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the stronger vsurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seauen Kingdomes; that of the *Northanimbrians*, being made one of two: and then to fixe (the *West Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Suffex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250. yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150. yeares, they were meereley gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with forty others, by Pope *Gregory*, had conuerted *Ethelbert*; King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortly after receiued the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperity grew mollified by humility of the Religion, beganne to raise presently so many and great monuments of their piety, in all parts of the Land, as if they strived who should exceed therein, and had no other glory: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as *Aetheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa* King of the East *Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the West *Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-land*, and West *Saxe*, so farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, gouerning the West *Saxons*, first aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminiencie, and did much to haue subdued *Mercna-land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire possibility to haue swallowed vp both the West *Saxons*, and all the rest of the Kingdoms. For whilst he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the especiall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murder committed in his house vpon *Aethelbert* King of the East *Angles*, comming to him vnder publique faith, and a Suitor to his daughter, were iustly reuenged vpon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert* descended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the West *Saxons*, began the way to bring all the rest into subiection. And being a Prince, who (from a priuate fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not about other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exile, experience; grew to haue great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and rose by these means.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that those foure Kings of the West *Saxons*, who seuerally succeeded him; *Eshelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kinulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then

Egbert obtained the kingdome, which by him was named England.

An. 802.

The description of the Danes.

then by right of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert*; with his propinquity in blood, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which he perceiuing, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; subdues *Cornuewall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after sets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inuested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enioyed but foure moneths, the inheritance of his fathers immanity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kennulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murdered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kennulph*, succeeding, after his first yeeres reigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the *West Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South, and East *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soueraignty of the whole country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him backe from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the *Danes* continued vsuubiected. For they hauing first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) euer after held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soueraignty to themselves.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part; the coast lying open to inuasion, and the many diuisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way therevnto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Brittaines*, and drew to setting of a Monarchy; the *Danes*, as if ordained to reuenge their slaughters, beganne to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene these two fierce Nations, with the bloodshed, and infinit spoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolfe*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the *West Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God: besides an annuity of three hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious vses at *Rome*; whither hee went twice in person, with his youngest sonne *Alfred*, whom he especially loued; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annoynted a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if diuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last journey, and whole yeeres stay at *Rome*; *Aethelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the *West Saxons*, to keepe him out, and depriue him vterly of his gouernment, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the *West Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauue*, King of *France*, enioyed it but two yeeres and a halfe; when *Aethelred*, the second sonne of *Aethelulph*, entred to the gouernment, which hee held

fiue

five yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,



ALFRED, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age (& in a yeere wherein eight severall battailes had beene given to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) began his troublous reigne,

An. 872
Alfred.

First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeeld vp a part of the kingdome (which was that of the East *Angles*, and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before be vsurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Aethelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduice and consent of his States assembled, he makes choyce of the fittest, abrogates those of no vse, and addes other according to the necessity of the time.

K. Alfred first made collection of the *Saxons* Lawes.

And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to vnlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could trauaile without conuoy: he ordained the diuision of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that euery English man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) liuing legally, might be of a certaine Hundred, or Tithing, out of which, he was not to remoue without security: and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour; which if he could not finde, hee was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after he had put in sureties escaped, all the Tithing, or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured traauilers, and the peace of his Countrey.

The first diuision of the Land into Shires, Hundreds and Tithings.

The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to haue been bred without it, and to haue his kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselves) held them in great veneration: *Rasenesse* then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Seamus*, hee drew out of *France*: *Asser* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other part: hee was the first lettered Prince wee had in *England*, by whose meanes and encouragement publike Schooles had here, either their reuiuing or beginning.

Publike Schooles first erected.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sons, with whom were bred vnder most diligent matters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleere from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to translate many things into the vulgar tongue, which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne, and especially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of Poet.

West. Westm.

The naturall day, consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight hee spent in prayer, study, and writing; eight in the seruice of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee measured by a great waxe light, detided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a generall suruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of fortune, with a weak disposition of body, and reigned 27. yeares, leauing his son *Edward*, a worthy successor to maintaine the line of Noblenesse thus begun by him.

The first suruay of the Kingdome.

EDWARD

Anno

900.

Edwardus
Senior.

EDWARD, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdom of *Mercna-land* in possession, wherof *Alfred* had but the homage, and as some write, held Soueraignty ouer the *East Angles*, and *Northumbrians*: though wee finde (in the ioynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the same conederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. He also subdued the *Brittaines* in *Wales*: fortified, and furnished with garrisons diuerse townes in *England* that lay fit to preuent the incursions of the *Danes*: and was all his reigne of 23. yeares in continuall action, and euer before hand with fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this *Danica* warre, though they lost their ease, won much glory and renowe. For this affliction held them so in, as hauing little out-lets, or leasure for ease, and luxury; they were made the more pious, iust, and carefull in their gouernment: otherwise it had beene impossible to haue held out against the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power, and vndantable stomacke, as no fortune could deterre, or make to giue ouer their hold. And the imbecility of some vnactiue Prince, at that time had beene enough to haue let them quire into the whole: which may bee the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. A yfirst, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his son

Anno

924.

Athelstan a Ba-
stard preferred
before the
lawfull sonne.

ATHELSTAN of full yeares, and spuit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate son *Edmond* vnder age: Nor did *Athelstan* disappoint the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice, and Magnanimity, and after sixteene yeeres reigne died without issue.

Anno

940.

Edmond.



EDMOND his brother succeeded him: A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not vntimely perished by the hand of a base Out-law in his owne house, at a festiuall, amidst his people that dearely loued, and honoured him. And though he left two sons, yet was

Anno

946.

Edred or El-
dred.
Edmin.

EDRED his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Verue continued by his Ancestors) was heid perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his reigne, which was of ten yeares.

Anno

959.

Edgar.
Edgar provides
shipping.

EDWIN his nephew, the eldest son of *Edmond*, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse liued dissolutely, and died wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other son of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.



EDGAR, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the graue aduice of his B.shops (who in that time of Zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee provided a mighty Nauy to secure his coasts from inuasion, which now hee found (though late) was the onely meane to keepe out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land euer before negligent, or not inured to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessels made of wicker, and couered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as those times gaue, in shipping) found that easie footing they had. Yet *Egbert* is said to haue provided a strong Nauy, about the yeere 840. And *Alfred* thirty or forty yeeres after did the like. But either now dis-used, or consumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edifies, and sets forth a Fleete consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre greater number; & those he diuides, and places in foure parts of the Realme, making his progresse yearely, with part of his mighty Nauy, round about the whole Isle, whereof hee assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it to one name, and Monarchie, hee was intituled King of all *Albion*,

A most vscfull
progresse.

as testifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of *Maldefmesbury*, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum, seu insularum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For he having first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them their quiet cohabitation through all his dominions; had the soueraignie ouer them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I cannot say. And fise Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this land, that hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the title of *Pacificus*: and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene giuen to shew, and not to vse (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his reigne of fixteene yeares: being too short to close the disleuered ioynts of a commixed Kingdome; which was onely, to haue beene the worke of Time: and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to haue aduanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordained to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leauing his son *Edward*, a child, to vndergoe the miseries of nonage, to bee made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to aduance her owne son *Ethelred*, brake in ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way: and is sayd, her selfe to haue murdered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Parbeck*.

Hee reigned
16. yeares.

Saint Edward,
A. 975.

Ethelred.

BUT *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground: the entrance to whose reigne was bloud; the middle, misery; and the end, confusion. They write, *Saint Dunstan* preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (sotetold him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: saying: *For that thou hast aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murdered by thy mother; thus saith the Lord: The sword shall neuer depart from thy house, raging against thee all the daies of thy life, slaying those of thy seed till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion and language, thy people shall not know. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors, bee expiated, but by long auengement.* And this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified in the event. For either this vniust disordering the succession, or the concurrency of hidden causes meeting with it, so wroucht as this late begunne Monarchie fell quite asunder, and began the occasion of two Conquests, by forraigne Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

A. 978.

Two conquests of this
Kingdome in
fiftie yeate.

For the *Danes*, hauing now beene so long inmates with the English, disspread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: so that this opportunitie of a young and vssettled Prince, in a new and brangling State, drew ouer such multitudes of other of the same Nation, as euery coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes of spoile and sackage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: for if incountred in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where al preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected auaylable to quaille them; Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not preuaile with the sword, to assaile them with money, and bought a peace for 10000 pounds: which God wor, proued after, a very deere peny-worth to the common wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power, & the buyer, at how hard a rate his necessity was to be serued; & yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the contractor would.

The spoiles
made by the
Danes.

The originall
of *Danegelt*,
the first im-
position layd
vpon the king-
dome.

this market, raised the price thereof almost euery yeare. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from spoile and inuasion; but rather the more now oppressed, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heauie grievance raised in a poore distressed State) continuing many ages after the occasion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vsuall supplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both enlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length, came *Swain*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Aulase*, King of *Norway*, in person, as if like-wile to receiue hire for committing outrage; and were both returned with great sums, and *Aulase* of a milder disposition, with baptisme. These calamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home, faith and respect (being seldome found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men employed in the defence. *Aelfrick*, Admirall of the Nauy, is said to haue giuen intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and disappointed that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Fritbigist*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, descended of *Danike* progeny, and of greatest commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric Earle* of *Mare-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlasting ignominie, and the title of *False*, for his barbarous disloyaltie, frustrating all attempts wherein he was employed.

Wolnod, a Nobleman, for his misdemeanor outlawed, made depredations on the coastes, with twentie shippes, and was the cause that fourescore more sent to take him in, were vtterly consumed. This defection of his Nobilitie, howsoeuer it might bee by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affection, is laide to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet wee finde more vnfortunate then weake, howsoeuer they haue set his marke: and neglected no occasion to make resistance and preparations against all euents, bringing often his affaires to the verie point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howsoeuer it were, (besides the miserie to loose) hee must haue (that which accompanies infelicitie) *Blame*, and *Reproach*. Though the many and desperate battailes hee made; and good constitutions for the government; the prouisions to supply all important occasions, shew, that he was not much behind the best Princes, but onely in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his father, he procured a mightie Nauie; causing of euery three hundred and ten Hides or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to bee built, and of euery eight, a Corlet to bee found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quashd with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made vnusefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destruction, all concurred to make a dismal season.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raise againe new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer; receiues a fee for blood-shed, to the summe of 48000 pounds, granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of seruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vse of like libertie, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare: When the occasion of greater mischiefes was giuen by a vniuersall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the suggestion of *Hunne*, a great Commander, and a violent warrior of that time: Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wiues and Daughters of great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such,

Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrence of an inueterate rankor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible to be conioyned. So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of alliance, were auailable to saue them from slaughter. Wherein to incense the more their king, *Gunild*, his syster, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before receiued Christendome, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing first her husband and son slaine in her sight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

The massacre of the Danes.

A.1002.

Gunild slaine.

Soone was the notice of this enormous act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as soone armed with rage and power, re-entred hee the kingdome, hauing now a sayrer shew to doe fowly, then euer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not so forward to maintayne their act, as to commit it, rather were content to giue him the possession of their country, then that hee should win it: the greatest part of the Kingdome submitting themselues vnto him; onely the Citie of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified, made noble resistance till hee left them; and conueyed himselfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had sent *Emma* his Queene, with their two sonnes, *Alfrid* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly: leauing his son *Knute* to succeed his fortunes, and accomplish what he intended.

Swain wins *England*.

Ethelred flies into *Normandie*.

Swaines death.

Ethelred returning, was soone furnisht with an Army, sets vpon *Knute* in *Lindsey*, where he lay with his fathers shipping, and Hostages, and draue him to take the seas: wherewith enraged, making about to *Sandwich*, hee miserably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home: himselfe, with the spoiles his father and he had gotten, returned to his Country, to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increase the summe of reuengement with more wrath, at a generall assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobility to be murdered: Among which were *Sigifrius*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand on each side for mischiefe) inuited to his lodging, vnder pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slaine: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselues and their maisters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same burnt. *Knute*, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armor. Here the false *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vp forty ships, and his periur'd faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and body, *Edmond* his son, surnamed *Ironside* (so oppose youth to youth) was employed against this rabious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found faith, had made it so, and deliuered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Ethelred returns.

Knute returns.

Ethelreds death.

Knute. Edmond Ironside.

BV T now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37. yeares reigne, shewes that infelicity shall haue time too much, and happinesse too little.) *Knute* was by most of the Clergie and Nobility chosen King: onely the City of *London*, with some of the Nobility there about, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as, thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at *Essendon* (likely to haue beene the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, seeing *Edmonds* part in possibilitie to preuaile) againe betrayed his truth, and withdrew himselfe,

Edmond Ironside sonne to *Ethelred*, by his first wife *Ethelgina*.

A.1016.

and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battel lost *England*: here perished the best flower of honour it then had: Here amongst the rest was slaine, *Vikill*, an Earle of *Essex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long stood vp for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaize*, was the first that shewed there was hope and possibility to quaille the enemy, had there beene an vnion in loyaltie.

Edmonds single combats with *Knute*.

Peace concluded.

England deuided betweene them.

The death of King *Edmond Ironside* at *Oxford*.

From this bloody worke, *Edmond* escapes to *Glocester*, to recollect new forces; nor was hee so forsaken with this fortune, but that hee soone recouered another armie, to re-assaile the enemy, that might bee idle vpon this victorie. But *Knute*, as prouident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here, when both Armies were at the point to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the riuer *Seuern*, their Armies on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the maistery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they cast away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howsoeuer; it seemes (both sides tyred with the miserie of a consuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vter extirpation of the one; and considering the danger of either, and incertaintie of the future) were easily perswaded to imbrace a present agreement: which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremonie to expresse the attonement of their mindes, as if they made tranfaction of their persons each to other. *Knute* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*. A fatall exchange, for so free and magnanimous a Prince, as *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in so few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously giuen him at *Oxford*; some say, by the son of *Edric* (as if to shew hee would bee the heire of his father also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vterly lost, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all we haue else of his magnanimous actions)ooke vp scarce the circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that bene space enough for glorie (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which seldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of *Essendon* with *England*, then condescended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

Knute.

A. 1018.

Knute the first Danique King.

83000. pounds paid to King *Knute* for euacuation of Strangers.



BY this meanes, *Knute* attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iustice then hee got it, conforming his natiue roughnesse, to a more ciuill, and regular fashion of life: And to haue *England* see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Nauie, and stipendary souldiers, home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly, vpon this people; taking the way of mildnesse, a better meanes for his establishment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, & this euacuation of Strangers, 83000 pounds of siluer; which it rather consented to doe at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to pester the State for euer.

At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of those might prooue his enemies. *Edric*, who came first to salute him sole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him so) hee caused his head to be set on the highest part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promise, of aduancing him aboute any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should haue paide, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered: giuing a generall satisfaction therby to the people, that reioyced to see Treason so iustly rewarded. Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, & *Erick*, who being banished the Land, were executed vpon their arriual in *Denmarke*. But the loue, and high opinion of Iustice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein hee tooke counsell onely

onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of England; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the sons of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertained the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother; which three, hee sent to be murdered abroad, to beguile the rumor at home: But, which is strange; those times, though rough, afforded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserved, and conveyed out of danger by those, who should haue made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (suruiuing his brother) married *Agatha* sister to that Queene, (and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second) by whom he had two sons, *Edmond* and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*.

Edward married to *Agatha*; the Queene of *Hungaries* sister.

Aelfred, and *Edward*, sons of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserved by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Vncle, and so lay out of his way. This priuate iustice (which often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) hee sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions: repairing the naufrage of the common-wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries, with large patents of p:ouisions; both for the expiation of his inmanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankfulness to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, diuulged in the language of that time, testifie his tender piety, and care of Iustice: and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best meanes to haue lawes obserued, was, by hauiug them first enacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his peop'e, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuerer he was, but not cruell: few of his lawes sanguinarie, as being not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that iusticall remedie of blood. No punishments capitall, vnlesse conspiracies: the rest were all pecuniarie mulcts, banishments, bondage, or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whosoever had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his family were made bond, euen to the child in the cradle*: This he abrogates as most vniust, and ordaines, *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him should endure the punishment, and that the wife (vniess the things stolne were found vnder her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence*.

His erection of Churches and of Church gouernment.

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is sayd to haue so well cleered himselfe (howsoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countrey. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts: as first all Rites of Honor and reuerence to the memorie of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides, the executing all such as could bee found to haue had any hand in that murder. Then married hee hereat home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had bene the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might haue other by him.

Hauiug thus established this mightie Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon hee fastens; and with the great forces hee brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high estimation of his worthinesse, so preuailed, as hee soone obteyned that Kingdome; and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intituled, King of *England*, *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

Knute King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which hee laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immense bounty heere within the land, seekes to makes *Rome* also feeble the fulnesse thereof; whither he went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predecessors of

England had founded, from all imposition: as hee did likewise all freights and passages, where traualiers were with rigor constrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at Rome with the Pope, *Corrade* the Emperour, and diuerse other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of England, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an especiall regard to the due administration of Iustice, to all his subiects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by sin: And also charges them to see all *Churches* and *Romes* fully cleered before his returne:

The actiue vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and first of a new Government, is such; as shewes he strived by all worthy waies, to lay the groundworke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his posteritie, then not. And as likely was he, to haue bene the roote of a succession, spreading into many descents, as was afterward the *Norman*; hauing as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he reigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of disposition more bountifull, and of power, larger to do good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscaried in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himselfe.

Harold.

A. 1038.



Harold, the eldest sonne of *Knute* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobilitie, in an assembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of England, would haue chosen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or else *Alfride*, the son of *Ethelred*, who is sayd to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute*, to claime the Crowne; But *Harold*, being at hand carried it; The first act of whose reigne, was the banishment, and surprizing all the Treasure of his step-mother Queene *Emme*: Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfride* her son, his competitor: and committing him to a loathsome prison, where he died. For which deed, the Earle *Godwin* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene *Emme* repaires to *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinsman, where she remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her sonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it seemes prepared for some thing else, then to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into England.

Harold's cruel-
tic.

Hardiknute.

A. 1041.



His *Hardiknute* inuested in the Government, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him: and first in like sort beganne with that degenerate act of reuenge (wherein none are sayd so much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late King to be vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into *Thames*; Then makes inquisition for such as were guiltie of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother: whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused; The Bishop is dispossest his Sea: and the Earle with a rich and rare deuised present, in forme of a ship of gold, appeased that furie: making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobility, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layde to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, hee added a generall griuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giuing to euery Mariner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to euery Maister tenne, which he imposed to be paid by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greatest iolity, not without suspicion of poyson.

And

And with him ended the Government of the *Danes* in *England* (having onely continued 26.yeeres vnder these three last Kings) and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of *Knute*, and no great admission of others after: and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the *English*, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer against *Denmarke*: whereby, that which with all the strugling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leauing *England* to a King of her own, and *Denmarke* to ciuill discord about the succession; *Norway* likewise returning obedience to a son of *Olave*, recovered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

Edward the Confessor.



EDWARD (the son of *Ethelred*) is sent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of *England*, at *Winchester*, by *Edsine* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1042. being about forty yeeres of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as hauing deere-ly paid for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any *Normans* with him. The first Act he did, was the remission of the *Danegilt*, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yeerely, and had bene paid for forty yeeres past. Hee caused the Lawes to bee collected, out of those of the *Mercians*, *West Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to bee written in Latine. He was a Prince most highly renowned for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For hauing bene so long brought vp with the *Nunnes* at *Jumieges* in *Normandy*, he scarce knew to be a man, when he came into *England*. And to shew how little he vnderstood himselfe; they note, how in a great anger, he sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee, were I able*. And, as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, hee was so farre from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued he (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

The soft simplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that he would seeme the especiall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter *Edith* to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without opposition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and spirit) seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Westsex*, the son of the Earle *Godwin* performed against the *Weleth*, in the West: For the first deprived of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vsurper, and inuested *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other defeated *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and subdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Besides the Earle *Godwin*, had to struggle with an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, first to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting most that nation, as being part of their blood, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoever they did, could not auoyd to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the *English* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gaue more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, hauing bene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Doner*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriuing with all his traine,

pursues,

The reason of the extinction of the *Danes* in *England*.

Anno

1042.

Edward the Confessor.

Anno

1042.

His continency.

Earle *Godwin*'s greatnesse.

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.

Eustace Earle of *Bullogne* married *Goda* the Kings sister.

pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggravates the insolency of the Citizens so farre; that the Earle *Godwin* is sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the City of *Douer*, to chastise the people. The Earle (considering it was vpon the information of one side) aduised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the City, to vnderstand what they could say for themselves, and accordingly to proceed; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of fauour to his COUNTRYMEN) gaue the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

Earle Godwin's
insurrection.

Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at *Glocester*, where neither hee, nor any of his sons would appeare; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to suppress the *Welch*, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Assembly remoues to *London*, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces, and to come onely attended with twelve persons. Hee sends them word; to dismisse his forces hee was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were with the safety of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was hee commanded within fise dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Toussaine*, and *Swayne* his sons, gets him into *Flanders*, where *Toussaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldwin* the 5. *Harald* his eldest son, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the Queene, to bee partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her houle; who is described (by the writers of those times) to haue bene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this desperate fortune (whilst the *French* and his enemies possesse the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his owne peace with power; in such sort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

The French
forsake the
Court, and
Kingdome of
England.

Thus (as fore, pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those aduantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakenesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, being risen vp from so great a fall. (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his sides strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniustice, by the sway of power and passion, were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen Emmes
affliction and
triall.

And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, she vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-share, made red hote, and layd an vneuen distance one before the other) which she lately performed. And the reason why, both her son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeeres had made her an actor in diuers fortunes, was, for that she neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children she had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

It seemed these priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-lesse King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practises vpon: though for his owne part, hee shewed to haue had a care for the succession, in sending for his Nephew *Edward*, intituled the Outlaw, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, shortly after his arriual, died, and *Edgar* his son (surnamed *Atheling*) to say Prince *Edgar*) whom hee had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the 2. who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little know-

ing

ing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was *Anno 1065.* when he had reigned 24. years. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

King Edward,
founder of
Westminster
Church.

Harald the second.

AND *Harald*, son to the Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title hee might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as descended from that Nation (and, as some report, son to *Githa*, sister to *Swaine*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more man, to vndergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddainly vpon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne seruings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Alghith*, sister of *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*. Neither did hee faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all prouisions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disioynted, or dashed with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as vsually is seene in these publique feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more then enough to doe.

Harald the second.

Anno

1065.

And the first man, which began to disturbe his new gouernment, was his owne younger brother *Touftaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, hauing the gouernment of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities shewed in thole parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceiued hatred against his brother, easily set on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Balioin*, Earle of *Flanders* (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets vpon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craues he aide of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald*, surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the *Orcades*, and exercising piracy in thole parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Timmouth* (discomfiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Touftaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

The Kings
brother *Touftaine*
banished

His death with
the King of
Norway.

But from hence was hee called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the Testament of the late King *Edward* his Kintman; vpon the aduantage of a busie time, and the disfurnishment of thole parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Hastings* in *Sussex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Assistance of Gods iudgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other,) and howsoever miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60. thousand 9. hundred 74. of *English*, shew, how much was wrought to haue saued their Countrey from the calamity of foraine seruitude.

The Battaille
was fought in
Sussex, 7. miles
from *Hastings*,
vpon Saturday
the 14. of Oc-
tober, 1066.

The Kings va-
lor and death.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow bee subdued by so small a Prouince as *Normandy* (in such sort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances afore noted, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to bee declared, giue vs faire and probable reasons thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by such as liued neere it, may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their beeing secure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner, from

William Malmf-
bury.

William Malmf-
burie.

from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeeres;) growne neglectiue of Armes, and generally debauched with luxurie and idlenesse: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttony, Venerie, and Oppression: The common sort to Drunkenesse, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of *Harald at Stamford*, the brauest men perished, and himselfe growing insolent vpon the victory (retaining the spoyle, without distribution to his souldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, & vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercenary men, and a discontented Army, gaue great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether vnacquainted) were especially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *English* (consisting of Bils, their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolue them; till the *Normans* (faining to flie) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excuse the fortune of the day.

King Harold
buried at Wal-
tham.

His Issue.

The body of King *Harald*, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. He was a King, who shewes vs nothing but miserie, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sons, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldest fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made some attempts vpon the Westerne coasts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about fife hundred yeeres after the first comming in of *Hengist*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus haue I in the straightest course (wherein, that vneuen compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke. I purpose more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William I.

Anno
1066.

Englands terri-
tories ouer-
shoots the
Ocean.

I Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of liuing, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innouation in most things, but Religion. So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it euer had, wee are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, then heretofore: which by beeing thus vndone, was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by losing, then otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the *Danes*, brought it to the entiest Government it euer posselt at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Norman* by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South: For before these times, the *English* Nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeeres, neuer made any sally out of the Isle, vpon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a diuided State, held a broken Government with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till *Knut* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they employed.

But the *Normans*, hauing more of the Sun, and ciuility (by their commixion with the *English*) begat smother fashions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerors were naturally infected, induted a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For where as before, the *English* liued loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little
other,

other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, provide better furnishings, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort then before. They inclose Parkes for their private pleasure; being debarred the generall liberty of hunting, which heretofore they enjoyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to bee in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and fashion of living, became generally assumed, both in regard of novelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on, in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the habite of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altered to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now used. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus subdued vs; we must take our course vp to the head of their originals. The *Normans*, we finde to haue issued out of *Norway* and *Denmarke*, and were of like manners, as the rest of those *Northerne* countries: which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmaticque and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendring, without any tie of marriage, yielded that continuall surchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themselves on other Countries, wherefoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Rou*, a great Commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King *Alfrid*, and first landed in *England* (that euer lay in the Roade to all these inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any employment, was content (vpon some reliefe receiued) to vse his forces other-where; which he did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom he had many violent encounters, and committed great spoyles in their Countries. Which done; he passed along the coast of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Country vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting* (another inuador of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition hee would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the Lawes of Christ, and the Customes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the Simple, then King of *France*, yielding no present succour (beeing otherwise imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the Conquest of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeats to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buye his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of *Nuestria* (or *Westrich*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *France*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the Simple: and is said to haue vnder-aided *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designes; though after hee vrged it in an article against *Charles*, the giuing away his Country, and the fauouring of strangers.

And thus came *Roul* to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the space of 120. yeares: *William*, 1. *Richard*, 1. *Richard*, 2. who had two sons,

Robert, after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerey for deuotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, wherewith his conscience might stand charged, about his brothers death (which because it was vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) resolues to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much dissuaded, in regard hee had no issue: and for that (already they said) *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in contestation, who should succede him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their

Malsbury. *Mauricius*, Bishop of *London* An. Dom. 1087. new built the Church of *S. Paule* in *London*, of stone brought out of *Normandie*.

The Charter of *William* 1. granted to this Church, see the Appendix. Before this time the Churches were most of Timber.

William 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled and incastelled vnderneath by *William* 2. and *Henry* 1.

The *Saxon* habit, and Characters first altered.

The Originall of the *Normans* *Roul*, or *Rou*, the first *Norman* that landed in *England* The History of *Normandy*.

Roul, the first Conqueror of *Normandy* from the *French*, calling it *Norman*.

their strife, the Country was like, to become a prey to the souldier, from which, in conscience he was bound, by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to bee content: I haue (said hee) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse I haue great hope, and I doubt not but hee is of my begetting: him I will inuest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of Brittain (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I haue in him, I will constitute his gouernour, and Seneschall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* shall be his Guardian, and so I leaue him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named *William*, who was the sixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaise*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliueres the Child with his owne hand, to *Henry* the first, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainly aided in preseruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance*, which with a great side of Nobility, stood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the custome of *France*: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much, as their selfe-respects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to bee so. And causing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandy*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *Asia*. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miseries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: besides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his standing cleere, stood ne neuer so high.

The Nobles of *Normandy* soone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongst them, would adde more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But soone they found, the hauing his person (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and faction.

For presently followed the murthering, and poisoning of Gouernors, displacing of Officers; intrusion, supplantation, surprizings, and recouerings of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborne, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or neerenesse. But this was the least, as beeing done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous practises against him. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much prooffe of his owne worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth; hee was growne powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, he vrges, *What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe, should bee preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors had nobly gotten: and what a shame the Normans (a people of that worth) would endure to be so gouerned; seeing they had others of the renowned race of Roule, William, and Richard, Dukes of Normandie, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him unworthy to inherite the State.* And beeing impatient (as is ambition that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumont*, was vtterly defeated, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much aduanced, as the King of *France* (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of *Thouilliers*, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, vpon his subiects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainly bewrayed his minde; ayding in person *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and son to *Richard* the Second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Army to succour *Arques*, assieged by Conte *Guffard*, the Dukes Generall; who

(by

(by a stratagem so trayned the *French* into an ambush) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returns the King to *Paris*, with great losse, and dishonor : leaving *Arques* (the first *Arch* of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet ariued to seuteene years of age; and the discomfited competitor to seeke his fortunes with *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer alters credite, and few regard men ouerthrowne.

This storme ouerpast, another succeeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* son to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Borgogne*, and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard* the second; who comming to bee sensible of his interest, was aduised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Duchie, which they said appertained to him in right, and was wrongfully vsurped by the Bastard: And to aduance his purpose, there happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of *Normandie* (*Visconte Neele*, and the Earle of *Bessin*) whose debate, Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interposed himselfe to compose this discord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Plessis* (a principall mouer in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the point of their malice vpon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neither, made both to hate him; and easily conspire with *Guy* to murder him at vnawares: which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for being held a naturall, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes presence, whom he willed in hast to flie, or hee would bee murdered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the reporter, but by their likelihood; and knowing his fortune was liable vnto all suddaine assassinations; instantly takes horse and all alone postes to *Fallaife*, his especiall place of strength: on the way, his horse being tyred, about breake of daie, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good fortune, the gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, readie to goe abroad; of whom the Duke enquires the next way to *Fallaife*: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vawilling to be knowne) humbly craues the cause of his so strange and vntimely riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discovered, tells the occasion: the gentleman (whose name was *Robert de Rye*) furnishes him with a fresh horse, and lends two of his sons to conduct him the neereest way to *Fallaife*: No sooner was hee gone out of sight, but after post the conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman, whether hee saw the Duke; who answered, that hee was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his seruice to Conte *Bessin*; where they made themselves so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull seruice his father had done him: how he was his homager, vnder his tutelary charge, and had no other sanctuary of succour to flie vnto, in this case of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne. And so farre vrged the importancy of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too strong, and peradventure rather him then his competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) aided him in person with a puissant Army against these competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Danes* with as great power and resolution to bid them battaile, as they to assaile them. Here one *Guillefon*, Vncle to *Visconte Neel* by the mother, forced his horse into the battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, hastes to incounter him with that violence, as both fell to the earth: but *Guillefon* soone gets vp, and though his horse was slaine vnder him, by *Castillon*, he escapes out of the preasse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recovered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his person, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most vpon) shewed effects of an all-daring and magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralfe de Tesson* bene false to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

A Conspiracie
discovered
strangely.

After which, diuers of the conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Countryman (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the space of twelue yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially *Guillelmus*, for hauing incountred with a King in the middest of his battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of those times, it shall not lie out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italie*, vpon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drengot*, and *William Repostell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forrest of *Roumery* (neere *Rouen*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* slue *Repostell*, in his presence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where hee, with his small company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke *de Benevento*, to serue him against the *Saracins*, and *Africans*, which miserably infested *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment was no sooner spred in *Normandy*, but diuers valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chased and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselves ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewise (their turne serued): to be rid of their friends, and either vsing them more vnkindely then of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords vpon their intertayners. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the *Renduous*, and receipt of booty: And so augmenting still their winnings, obteyned Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. After the death of *Drengot*, succeeded other gallant leaders, and at length *Tancred*, Signior de *Hautenille*, in *Constantine*, with his twelue sons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third son *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attained the commaund, and was a man of a faire stature, cleere iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; releued *Michael Diocrisius*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeated *Nicephorus* that vsurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like: and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: swayed the whole Estate of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to haue attained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had hee not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the States of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and bloud. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a succession of Kings, and Princes after him, and died the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans* during these ciuill wars the Duke had with so many competitors: and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiscard*s forces in *Italy*; and especially this battaile of *Dunes*; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgoyne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Briorn* and *Vernonville*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselves; whereby they re-obteyned their signiories, but had their Castles demolished.

Hauing ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffry Martel*, Earle of *Anson*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached also vpon his neighbours States, and vsurped *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Passais*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Army, and first got *Alençon*, where (for that he was opprobriously skorned by the besieged, who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel, La Pel*, in reproach of the baseness of his mother, and the trade of the place of his birth) hee shewed extreame cruelty. Then layes he siege

to *Dampffront*; which to relieue, *Conte Martel* comes with his greatest forces : and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights to deliuer this message to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall Dampffront, he should find him there the Porter to keep him out*; wherto the Earle returns this answer: *Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he shall haue me there on a white horse, ready to giue him the Combate, and I will enter Dampffront if I can; And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield d' or, without any deuise.*

Roger replies, *Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, he shall weare on the point of his Lannce, a streamer of taffeta, to wipe your face.* Here-with returning, each side prepares for the morning : when the Earle, busie in ordering his battailes, was aduertised by two horsemen, that came crossing the field, how *Dampffronte*, for certaine was rendred to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee presently departs with his Army : whereof a part, was (in passing a streight) cut off, by *Visconte Neel*, who for that seruice, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes fauour, whom euer after hee faithfully serued. Those of *Dampffronte*, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselues to the Duke, who with his engines and forces remooues from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontier Towne of *Conte Martels*, and by the way (had it not bene by himselfe discouered) hee had bene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambush, which gaue him much to doe, and lost him verie many braue men. Wherewith hee grew so enraged, that hee rushed into the troupes of his enemies; made at *Conte Martel*, strake him downe with his sworde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare : but yet hee escaped out of the preasse, though diuers were taken, and the *Anionins* vtterly defeated.

Whilst thus hee was trauailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: *Williams Guelm*, Earle of *Mortaigne*, descended from *Richard* the second: And *Williams* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montrent*, issuing from *Williams*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Effelm*, Countesse of *Montrent*: the first vpon suspition, the other vpon prooffe, of an intencion, was banished, and their estates seized : the Earldome of *Mortaigne* he gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*) both his brethren by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these skornes, conspiracies, and vnder-workings at home, hee passed before hee was full 33 yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderfet and strengthen his State, against future practises, hee conuokes an assemblie of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, causing them to receiue their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Castles; which done, he married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin* the fifth, Earle of *Flanders*, but not without contrist and trouble : for his Vncle *Manger*, Arch-bishop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred: she being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the second, and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a dispensation from Pope *Victor*) they were enioyned the building of certaine Hospitals for blind people: and two Abbeyes, the one for men, the other for women : which were erected at *Caen*.

The Duke marries Matilde daughter of Baldouine the fifth, Earle of Flanders.

This match, and the ouer-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuy in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vsually called *Treuwans*) as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell (which confines easily doe) to set vpon him : and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the insolencies of the *Normans* committed on his territories, and to releue Count *Martel*, oppress by the Duke; besides alleadging, *It concerned him in honour and iustice, to haue that Province, which hold of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawfull bloud, according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall*: And therefore resolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legitimate Prince in the Dutchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent

The reasons why the King of France, warres with the Normans.

The defeiture
of the Armie
of the King of
France, by the
Normans.

along the riuer *Sein*, the other into the Country of *Bessin*, as meaning to incompasse him.

The Duke likewise deuides his forces into two parts: sends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earle of *Longuenill*, and others with the one, to the Country of *Caux*; himselfe with the other takes towards *Euieux* (to make head to the King that was at *Maute*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouisions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemye. The Kings army marching from *Beauuois*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Country full of all prouisions, tooke them to make good cheere, and rests there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Euieux*; which, the army in *Caux*, conducted by *Oibo* vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gaue them so hot an alarme, and so sodaine, as put them all in rout, leauing horse, and armour, and all to the assaillants; who made such a destruction of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recouers his peace, and the Castle of *Thouillers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Cont *Marcell* though much dismayd with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaues not to make some attempts for the recovering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke he saw was too well beloued and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger arme. Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe to importune the King of *France*, to aide him against the Duke: who (he said) *Was now growne so insolent vpon this peace, and the victory he had stolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighbours neere him:* Besides, the *Normans* had the *French* in such derision, and baie esteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely sport, and the subiect of their rimes: as if a King of *France*, vpon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonourable peace.

With which instigation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithstanding the sollemne peace made, and so lately sworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandy* in the haruest time, ouer-runnes and spoiles all the Country, along the Coast to *Bessin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpose to passe the riuer *Dine* at *Varneuille*, to destroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Lisieux*, and *Roumois*, euen to *Roan*: and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vanguard to passe ouer first: and, to secure his *Arierguard*, conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himselfe staves behind in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William* (who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victual) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Fallsise*, as he could; hath no army in the field, but a running campe to be ready to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the storme spend it selfe, and hauing aduertisement of this passage, marched all night with 10 thousand men, and in the morning early, sets vpon the *Arierguard*, with so sodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Case-way hearing this noise behind, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get ouer the bridge, with such a crowd and presse, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the riuer. They who were gotten ouer, could not returne to aide the rest; nor the King (by reason of Marishes on both sides) yeeld any succour to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Conte *De Soissons*.

The Armie of
the King of
France ouer-
throwne at
Varneuille by
the *Normans*.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, shortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a ioyfull peace, which he nobly employed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbeyes at *Caen* (where he also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so posselt him of the hearts of all his people generally, as they were entirely his, for what he would.

The Duke
comes to visit
his kinsman.

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourney ouer into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preferuation, and breeding he had
in

in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainment: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enteruiew he discouered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shells, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Harald* (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriued betwixt them; or by casualty of weather driuen into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a journey of purpose to the Duke, is not certainly deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likelihood to deuide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Harald* being a coastdweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and do his best to helpe him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of diuers great persons. Besides for more assurance, *Harald* was iynanced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnot*, left a pledge for the performance.

Harold goeth ouer into *Normandy*. His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

This intercourse made the transaction of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to anothers place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as hee had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harald* (for they came both together) he assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, Soliciuing an extension of their utmost meanes for his recovery thereof, and auengement of the perjured *Vjumper* *Harald*; shewing them apparant probability of successe, by insallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people; What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was thus opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the present occasion. All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could enduce but very few to like of this attempt, and those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduventure that might promise likelihood of aduancement. The rest were of diuers opinions: some, that it was sufficient to hold and defend their owne Country; without hazarding themselves, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neereft and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduventure their whole estates with him. As *William* *fiz. Anber*, Conte de *Bretteuile*, *Gualter* *Guifford* Earle of *Longuenilla*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William* *fiz. Anber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Normandy*.

The subtrill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

without

without their helpe (the Duke arruying to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to aduance his desires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops and great men apart, so effectually, as at length hee gotte of them seuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compassed; and causing each mans contribution to bee registred, inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now strived who should doe most.

The French
likewise ayde
the Duke.

And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their persons, and much of their estate with him; as *Robert fitz Haruays*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Britaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poitou*, *Mayne*, *Newers*, *Hiesms*, *Amal*; *Le Signior de Tours*, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Anson*, became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee sure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, and a constitution of times prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* Nation, would aduenture their liues & fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more then *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to serue that businesse.

The reason of
the Dukes
power.

The King of *France*, who should haue strangled this disseigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to haue rather furtherance then any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and do him homage for the same; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was he before hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique Sea, if he preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haire of *Saint Peter*. The Emperour *Henry 4.* sent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembered: so that we see it was not *Normandy* alone that subdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aydes of other Princes. And by these meanes, made he good his vndertaking; and within eight monethes was readie furnished with a powerfull Army at *Saint Valery* in *Normandy*, whence hee transported the same into *England* in 896 shippes, as some write. And this was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

1066.
Anno
Reg. I.

Reason for the
yeelding of
the Clergie.

And now hauing gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembered, at *Hastings*, the foureteenth of October 1066. hee marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumbreland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignitie and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conseruation of the State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobilitie had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops auerfe or wauering. For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Prouince apart, deuided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken vp so much of the world before hand, vpon credite and fame of his piety and bounty, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to giue way to the present Fortune.

What moued
the Nobles
to yeeld.

The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion then prouidence: & to be now behind hand to receiue him, with more then submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them strue & run headlong who

who should be first to pre-occupate the grace of seruitude, and intrude them into foraine subiection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might haue beene for good vse) were hereby left, without a sterne, and could not moue but irregularly. So that all estates in generall, either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselves, and their distressed Countrey. Vpon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselves in all obedience vnto him: and hee returning plausible protestation of his future Government, was on *Christmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically inuelted in his Sea: and yet thought to haue beene a forward mouer of this alteration.

Heere, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall subiects, and hee reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, To defend the Holy Churches of God, and the Restors of the same: To gouerne the Vniuersall People, subiect vnto him, iustly: To establish equall Lawes, and to see them duly executed. Nor did he euer claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular Prince, submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to haue his Testamentary title (howsoeuer weake) to make good his succession, rather then his sword. And though the stile of *Conqueror* by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him; he shewed by all the course of his government he assumed it not: introducing none of all those alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and government of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, he returnes into *Normandy*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

And to leaue here all sure behind him, he commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his Cousin *Fitz * Anber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likeliest to be heads to a revolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Archbishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noble men: Besides, to vnburthen his charge, and dis-impester his Court; he tooke backe with him all the *French* Aduenturers, and such as were vnneccessary men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made vp in faire promises.

In his absence, which was all that whole Summer; nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his ayde, and forraged onely the remote borders of that Country. The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Prouince; the State of *England* would be but enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull, and not ouer-peopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

Having disposed his affaires of *Normandy*, he returnes towards winter, into *England*, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; First, such Aduenturers, with whom he had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or necessesse, looked for recompence, whereof the number being so great, many must haue their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he must now subsist: For being not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if hee should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall inhabitants) he was likewise to giue them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at *Hastings*; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could

not

The Coronation and Oath of William I.

King Williams submission to the orders of the Kingdome of England.

* Or Os me.

King William returns into Normandy with the chiefe Nobility of England.

King William returns into England.

Camden
Norf.

M. S.

1067.

Anno

Reg. 2.

The English
Nobility for-
sake the King-
dome.The King of
Scots enters
league with
the English
Nobility and
married Ed-
gars sister.

1068.

Anno

Reg. 3.

See the Char-
ter in the Ap-
pendix.

not but be irksome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselves out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealty giuen; as appeares by the controuersie betweene *Warren the Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn* Castle in *Norfolke*, which castle though the King had giuen to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburn* alledged, *How he neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subjects*, the King gaue iudgement against *Warren*, and commanded, that *Sherburn* should hold his Land in peace, So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battaile; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abbey of *Ely*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants & suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new concurrents; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefeft, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmark*, to trie if by ayd from abroad, they might recouer themselves, and their lost fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (termed *Englands Darling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungary* (their natiue Country) were driuen by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house beeing thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommen, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossessed of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, he takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar* (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preferred, and conioyned with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repayed the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Sinard*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred*, Arch-bishops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kirgs reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most eagerly to recouer their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setting of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of subjects, if they succeed not, aduance the soueraigntie: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman* planting heere, more then the petty reuolts made by disscattered troupes, in seuerall parts, begonne without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recovery, but by a generall subleuation of the people: for which all way prevention was vsed; and they had waited enough laid on, to hold them downe. And though these Lords imbroiled themselves, and held him doing in the North, yet hee hauing all the South parts settled vnder his dominion, with well practised and prepared forces, there could bee little hope of good, whilst all their great Estates furnished the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* helde in *Torkeshire*, were giuen to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke on *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Laufranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *Torke*, on

on *Thomas* his Chaplain, and al the rest both of the Clergy and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeased a Commotion in the West, which the sons of *Harald*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raised, & also repressed the rebellion of *Excester*, and *Oxford*, he tak's his journey in person Northward with all expedition (lest the enemy there, should grow too high in heart and opinion, vpon the great slaughter of his people, made at *Torke*; and the defeiture of his Brother and Lieutenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*, slaine with seuen hundred *Normans* at *Durham*: where, at his first coming he so wrought, that hee either discomfited, or corrupted the Generalls of the *Danish* forces (newely arriued to ayde the Lords, sent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two sons, *Harald* and *Knute*, with a Navy of three hundred saile:) and after sets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, he vterly wasted, and laid desolate, all that goodly Countrey betweene *Torke* and *Durham*, the space of 60. miles, as it might be no more a succour to the enemy: And the like course he vsed on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for inuasions; and so returns to *London*.

Most of the Lords after this defeit, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Barkhamsted*, by the Abbot *Fredricke*; where, vpon their submission and Oath of Allegiance re-taken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace graunted by the King: who it seemes was so willing to acquiet them, that againe he take his person all Oath before the Archbishop *Lanfranke*, and the Lords, To obserue the ancient Lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of *Edward the Confessor*. Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether vpon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was still in *Scotland*;) or growne desperate of new displeasures at home, finding small performance of promises made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle *Edwyn*, making towards *Scotland*, was murdered by his owne people. The Lords, *Morchar* and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Isle of *Ely*, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whither also repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers, besets all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and made a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people vpon the enemy, who seeing themselves surprized; yeilded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who desperately marched with his people thogh the Fennes; and recovered *Scotland*: The rest were sent to diuers prisons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life.

Those Lords who persisted loyall vpon this last submission, were all imploied and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forrester (and first that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleere trust, and neere about him. *Gospatrice* he made Earle of *Northumberland*, and sent him against *Malcolin*, who in this time, subdues the Countries of *Tisdall*, *Cleueland*, and *Cumberland*: *Waltheof*, son to the Earle *Syward*, he held so worthy to be made his, as he married him to his Neece *Indith*, though he had beene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the City of *Torke* against him, is said to haue stricken off the heads of diuers *Normans*, one by one, as they entered a breach, to the admiration of all about him) shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to loue vertue, euen in his enemies.

And now seeing *Scotland* to be the especiall retraite for all conspirators, and discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all aduantages; hee enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army: which, incounting with more necessities then forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and vpon faire ouertures, to conclude a peece;

Articling

See the Appendix.

1074.
Anno
Reg. 8.

Scotland before
this time gene-
rally spake a
kind of *Irish*.

Titles of ho-
nour in Scot-
land.

Edgar Atheling
submitted him-
selfe to King
William.

1175.

Anno

Reg. 9.

1176.

Anno

Reg. 10.

1177.

Anno

Reg. 11.

Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England, Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to haue likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the *English*, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and dayly repairing thither for their safety, and combination against the common enemy: of whom diuers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred: and there planted, spread their off-spring into many noble families, remaining to this day: The titles for distinguishing degrees of honor; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider, or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced: and the nobler sort began to bee called by the title of their *Signories* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes easily growing in euery soyle.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the fortune of the King, howsoeuer for his owne, being thought to haue ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seasonable intelligence, or despaire of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was later or neuer to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fits Anber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to *Raph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Enstace* Earle of *Bologne* (who secretly came ouer to this festiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossest the King. Who hauing thus passed ouer to many gulfes of forraigne dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home; and that those, whom hee had most aduanced, should haue the especiall hand in his destruction: But no rewards are benefites (that are not held so,) nor can euer cleere the accounts with them that ouer-value their merits. And had not this conspiracie beene opportunely discovered (which some say, was by the Earle *Waltheof*, moued with the vglynesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odin* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* and others, who kept the Conspirators from ioyning their forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were either surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fits Anber* was taken, and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide dissent of these rumors, sed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extremity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, vpon any the like humours.

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the neighbour Princes, here about, as may well be gathered be their seuerall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Raph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and in likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bologne* towards the Conspirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Nauy of two hundred saile, vnder the conduct of his son *Knute*, and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sons of *Harald* with 60. ships. In *Malcolme*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken vpon the coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and neuer after arriued to disturbe this Land. Though in Anno Reg. 19. *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repaire the dishonour of his two last aduentures past) and

and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predecessors had holden, prepared a Nauy of a thousand saile, and was aided with fixe hundred more by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter he had married.) But the winds held so contrary for two yeeres together, as vtterly quasht that enterprize; and freed the King, and his successors for euer after, from future molestation that way.

But this businesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining all that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *Englifs* (in respect of many great families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, sauing in *An. Regni* 13. he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there, to doe him homage. His warres abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne son *Robert*, left Lieutenant gouernor of the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and the Countie of *Maine*, who in his fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Prouince, causing the Barons there, to doe him homage (as Duke) not as Lieutenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*, who working vpon the easinesse of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disioynt his Estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible, as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties of still getting mony, that could not but needs yeeld continuall occasion to entertain both his own discontent & theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased him the title of *Count*, yet he lost the opinion of good gouernment, and contrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his father of the great concussion, and violent exactions he vsed amongst them.

The King vnderstanding the fire thus kindled in his owne house, that had set others all in combustion; hastes with forces into *Normandy*, to haue surprized his son; who aduertized of his coming, furnisht with two thousand men at Armes, by the King of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe; sets vpon him, defeited most of his people, and in the pursuite happened to incounter with himselfe, whom hee vnhorfed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voyce, it was his father, he hasted to remount him, humbly crating pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what case he was) granted, howloeuert he gaue; and vpon his submission, tooke him with him to *Rouen*; whence, after cured of his hurt, hee returned with his son *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sons remutyning, and how hee exacted vpon the *Normans*, vsurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, vpon his Conquest of *England*: which caused his litle stay here, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whither in passing he was driuen on the Coast of *Spaine*, but at length arriuing at *Bordeaux*, with his great preparations, his son *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and necessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace beeing betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his yong son *Henry*, with the association of charge and like power (but of more truit) to the gouernment of *Normandy*.

After the two Princes had bene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*, where feasting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry* was so much at Chesse of *Louis*, the Kings eldest son, as hee growing into Choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes vp the Chesse-boord, and strake *Louis* with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: Whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much adoe they recovered *Pontoise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising, vpon the inter-meeting of these Princes (a thing that seldome breeds good blood amongst them) re-kindled
a heate

1078.

Anno
Reg. 12.

1079.

Anno
Reg. 13.

The Kings of
Wales doe ho-
mage to King
William.
Robert of *Nor-*
mandy titl'd
Count.

1080.

Anno
Reg. 14.

Robert rebels
against his fa-
ther.

1081.

Anno
Reg. 15.

1082.

Anno
Reg. 16.

Louis and *Hen-*
ry, sons of the
kings of *France*
and *England*.

1026.

Anno
Reg. 20.King William
denies to doe
homage for
England, to the
King of France.

1089.

Anno
Reg. 21.His gouernmēt
in peace.What were the
Lawes of Eng-
land.The originall
of the Com-
mon Law now
vsed.

a heate of more rancor in the fathers, and began the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert*, (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. The King of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zaintonge* and *Poissou*, and returns to *Rouen*, where the third time, his son *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much disappoints and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England*, to doe him homage for the Kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, *Hee had it of none but God and his sword*. For the Dutchy of *Normandy* hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not haue, the Masterie: and seekes to make any occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sicknesse, whereinto (through his late trauell, age, and corpulency) hee was false: at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, ieasting at his great belly, whereof he laid, he lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as being recovered, he gathers all his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefeest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came euen before *Paris*; where the King of *France* then was; to whō he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marches to the City of *Mants*, which hee vtterly sackt, and in the destruction thereof, gate his owne, by the straine of his horse, among the breaches, and was thence conueyed sicke to *Rouen*, and so ended his warres.

Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after he had repress the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now beeing absolutely his, hee would haue to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreede Lords, and sadde people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Beseeching him in regard of his Oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdome; vnder whose Lawes they were borne and bred; That he would not adde that misery, to deliuer them vp to bee iudged by a strange Law they vnderstood not*. And so earnestly they wrought, that he was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which hee had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gaue commandement to his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint Edward (so called, not that hee made them, but collected them out of *Merchen-Law*, *Dane-Law*, and *Westsex-Law*) to be inuolubly obserued throughout the Kingdome. And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second and King *Iohn*, to the same effect; there followed a great inuauation both in the Lawes and gouernment of *England*, So that this seemes rather done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, then that they enjoyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vpon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common-law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all obiections can bee made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne Customes: all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danike* Law: *Merchland*, the middle part of the Country, and the State of the West Saxons, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall Dominions: and though for some few yeeres there seemed to be a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as we may see in the succession of that broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order currant ouer all: but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of *Menn & Tumm*, ordered according to the rights of nations, and that *ius inuatum*, the Common law of all the world, which we see to be as vniuersal, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men,

and

and serues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoever they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, we see what way wee came, where wee are, and the furthest end wee can discouer of the originall of our Common-law; and to strue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentility; seeing it is the equity, and not the antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankind, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that providence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of England bred most heauie doleances, not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Norman* forme and Language; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that speech for their owne need, which otherwise they would not doe; And seeing a difference in tongue, would continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to do, without the extirpation, or overlaying the Land-bred people; who being so far in number (as they were) about the inuadors; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue those who subdued them, vndistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solid body of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as riuers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured what hee could to turne all to *French*, *By enioyning their children here to vse no other Language, with their Grammer in schooles, to haue the Lawes practized in French, all petitions and businesse of Court in French, No man graced but he that spake French*, yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall English againe (but Law) and that still held forraigne, and became in the end wholly to be inclosed in that language: nor haue wee now, other marke of our subiection and inuassallage from *Normandy*, but onely that, and that still speaks *French* to vs in *England*.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Constitutions, new Formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Norman*; a people more inured to litigation, and of spirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *English*: who (by reason of their continuall warre, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnity in their priuate: and that small time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and constitutions before, we see them plaine, brieffe, and simple, without perplexities, hauing neither fold nor plect, commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as brieffe and simple, which shewed them a cleere-meaning people, retayning still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, vncomposed of other fashion then their owne, and vnaffected imitation.

And for their tryals (in cases criminall) where manifest prooffe failed, they continued their ancient custome, held from before their Christianity (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (signifying) *Right, Deale, Part, whereof they had these kinds: Ordeal by fire, which was for the better sort, and by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold ouer certaine plough-shares, made red hote, and laide an vneuen distance one from another. That of Water was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to bee cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adiudged: Such as were cast into the riuers, if they sancke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as eielected by that Element.* These trials they called the iudgements of God, and they were performed with solemne Oraisons. In some cases, The accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiuing the Eucharist, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three; but this was for especiall persons, and such, whose liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vsuall opinion perswading them, that men of ability held a more regard of honesty.

The Law of England put into a forraigne Language.

Vide Append.

The English trials in cases criminall.

Men of ability cleered by their oathes.

The English
trials.

The continu-
ation of the
Law for the
peace.

The Borough
Law of the
Saxons.

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

With these, they had the triall of *Campefight, or single combat* (which likewise the *Lumbards*, originally of the same German Nation, brought into *Italy*) permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions. All which trials, shew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgo these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificall Constitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forsake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes (against some of their wils) were constrained to ratifie, as *Luytprandus*, their King, thus ingeniously confesses: *We are uncertaine of the iudgement of God, and we haue heard many by fight, to haue lost their cause, without iust cause; yet in respect of the custome of our Nation, we cannot auoide an impious Law.* But all these formes of iudgements, and trials, had their seasons; Those of Fire, and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew disused, and in the end vtterly abrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganisme; That of combate continues longer-liued, but of no ordinary vse: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to bee wholly adiudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is vsed, and called by the name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for the Iurors, as it is here continued to this day. Although some hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of vse in this Kingdome from all antiquitie, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (father to the Confessor) willing in their Gemote, or conventions, monthly held in euery Hundred, twelue grane men of free condition, should with the Greue, the chiefe Officer amongst them, sweare upon the Euangelists, to iudge euery mans cause aright. But here we see twelue men were to bee assessors with the Greue to iudge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vsed; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeal*, onely, and vsually mentioned.

But whatsoeuer innouations were in all other things; the gouernment of the peace and security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke vnto) seemes to be continued as before, and for that businesse he found here better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any hee could bring. Amongst which especially was the *Borough Law*, whereby euery free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sort.

The Kingdome was deuided into Shieres or Shares, euery Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, contayning ten householders, whereof; If any one should commit an unlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If he fled, 31 dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-boroughhead (to say the Tythingman) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many (that is, the Tythingman, and two other of the principall men) and before the officers of that Hundred, purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they suffixed not to satisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make up the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accessory to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recover him, or know where he were. Besides, euery Lord and Maister, stood Borough, for all his family, whereof if any seruant were called in question, the Maister was to see him answer it in the Hundred, where he was accused. If he fled, the Maister was to yeild such goods as hee had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be aiding or priniue to his seruants flight, he was to cleere himselfe by fine men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be outlawed.

These lincks thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most pollitique regiments vpon earth, all the interleagued societies of men, cannot shew vs a streighter forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as hee did; This *Borough-Law* (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth; comming to bee posselt by a Conquering Maister) was made to turne all this ordi-

nance

nance vpon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon; and this Law may be some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people bene bound with these fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued loose, and in action,) it is like they would haue done as nobly, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as euer the Brittaines did, either against the Romans, or the Saxons, their predecessors, or themselves had done against the Danes, a people far more powerfull, and numerous then these. The Conqueror, without this had not made it the worke of one day, nor had Normandy euer bene able to haue yielded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must haue had.

But now, *First the strict executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preventing their night meetings with a heauy penalty, that every man at the day closing, should cover his fire, and depart to his rest. Fourthly, erecting diuers Fortresses in six parts of the Kingdom. Fifthly, collating all offices, both of command, and iudicature on those who were his;* made his domination such as he would haue it.

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all businesse in every Shire, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benefit of the Mulets with the King, now he confined the Clergy, within the Prouince of their owne Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Canons, and Lawes Episcopall.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King Edward Senior, all matters in question should, vpon especiall penalty, without further deferment, bee finally decided in their Gemote, or conuentions held monthly in every hundred: now he ordained, *That foure times in the yeare, for certaine daies, the same businesse should be determined in such place as he would appoint, where he constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and also others, from whom, as from the besonne of the Prince, all litigations should haue Iustice, and from whom was no appeale.* Others he appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called *Iusticiary Pacis.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may finde by taking note of their former viances. *Our Ancestors had only two kinde of tenures, Boke-land, and Folk-land, the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was as free-hold, and by Charter hereditarie, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and seruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the German manner, equally deuised amongst all the children, which they called Land-skittin, to say Part-land, a custome yet continued in some places of Kent, by the name of Gavel-kin, of Giseal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retoynded their ancient Lawes and liberties by especiall graunt from the Conquerour: who after his battaile at Hastings, comning to Dover, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughs of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a moouing wood. With which strange and suddaine show being much moued, the Arch-bishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsin (who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what daunger they were, vterly to loose their liberties, and indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude vnder the domination of strangers) present themselves, and declared, *How they were the vniuersall people of that Countrey, gathered together in that manner, with boughes in their hands, either as Oline branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leaue their liues, then that which was deerer, their freedome.* Whereupon they say the Conquerour granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdom.*

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vpon their petition, and compassion of their oppression hee releued, their case was this. All such as were discouered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefit of life, hauing all

No popular insurrection before the Conquest.

The means used by the Norman, to establish his Conquest.

Alteration of the Government

The order of deciding controuersies in the Saxons time.

New orders instituted by the Normans.

The alteration of Tenures. Lambert. Freehold.

The Tenure of Gavel kin.

The Customs of Kent preserved by the mediation of the Archbishop Stigand.

Gerardus Tilburienfis, Dialog Scacc.

Villenage.

their liuelihood taken from them, became vassals vnto those Lords to whom the possessions were giuen, of all such lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent seruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without hauing any estate for themselves, or their children, and were oftentimes violently cast out vpon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: wherupon it was ordained, that whatsoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious seruice, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inuolable Law, during their owne liues.

A survey made of the Kingdome.

Gerardus Tilburien. de Scacc. Dome booke.

Ibid.

The new Forrest in Hampshire.

He imposed no new taxations.

The occasion of paying Escuage.

The Custome of Fiefs.

By what meanes he increased his Reuenues.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his reuenues, taking a course to make, and know the utmost of his estate, by a generall survey of the Kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome booke of Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfride*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choice of skilfuller men employed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and euery mans else in the Kingdome, the Nature & the quality of their Lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and diuisions of Shieres and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soueraine Court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here *Taleé*, and it was called the *Dome booke* (*Liber iudicarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars.

All the Forrests and Chases of the Kingdome, hee seized into his proper possession, and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleasure, to serue as *Penitentialia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to haue to doe, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated. And to make his command the more, hee increased the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coast dispeopled the Country for about thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most seuer punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuenues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, hee committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost euery King neere the Conquest) till this heauy grievance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by *Henry* the third.

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and vsed those hee found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an imposition of two shillings vpon euery hide or ploughland (raised first by King *Etheired*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) hee would not haue it made an Annuall payment, but onely taken vpon vrgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith *Geruasius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of 6. shillings vpon euery hide of land, leauied presently after the generall survey of the Kingdome. *Escuage* (whether it were an imposition formerly layd, though now newly named, I doe not find) was a summe of money, taken of euery Knights fee: In after times, especially raised for the seruice of *Scotland*; And this also, sayth *Geruasius*, was seldome leauied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatiues to souldiers; yet was it at first a due, reserued out of such lands as were giuen by the Prince for seruice of warre; according to the Custome of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time wee finde Lands were giuen in reward of seruice to the men of warre, for terme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey*: After they became Patrimoniall, & hereditary to their Children. *Seuerus* the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of war, to enioy their Fiefs, provided that they followed Armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the last Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fiefs of the King, sub-deuided them to other persons, of whom they were to haue seruice.

Mulctuary profits, besides, such as might arise by the breach of his Forrest-lawes, hee had, few or none new, ylesse that of Murther, which arose vpon this occasion.

In

In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the English towards the new-come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murdered them; and the deed doers (for any the severest courses taken) could neuer be discovered: whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine and the murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 36 pounds, some 28 pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred; that the punishment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, & hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interested.

The law for Murther, renewed. first made, by King *Kante*, vide Append.

For his prouisionary reuenues, he continued the former custome held by his predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held their Lands of the Crown, payde no money at all; but onely Victuals, Wheate, Beifes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c. And a iust note of the quality and quantity of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings house. Other ordinarie in-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not vsed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached so farre before; and the first hand, he layd vpon that side which weighed heauily, was his seizing vpon the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the rebels, and their assistants, conueyed their riches into these religious houles (as into places priuiledged, and free from seizure) to defraud him thereof.

Geruasius Tilb.

King *William* seized vpon the Treasure committed to Monasteries.

Besides this, he made all Bishopricks, and Abbeyes that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular seruices) contributory to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may bee the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memory of Kings) haue layd such an eternall imposition vpon his name, of rigour, oppression, and euen barbarous immanity, as they haue done. When the nature & necessary disposition of his affaires (being as he was) may aduocate for him, & in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which euer imports violence and misery, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthy,) and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the memory of former customes in the younger sort, and well inured the elder to the present vfances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sons: who (though they were farre inferior to him in worth) were somewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to vnwrest the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto he had strayed it.

How hee was vnderfet with able ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut vs out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the fortune of Kings, to haue their ministers like riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of iudgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; for weake Kings haue euer weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwaies best stored with able ministers. The principall of highest imployment, were *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz. Anser*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasury. A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceipt of greatnesse, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his auarice, & length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of *England*, vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderstanding he had a purpose of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mighty confluence of followers gathering vnto him) made a close prison stay his iourney: excusing it to the Church, that he imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet, vpon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that hee would, in respect of bloud & nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

His Counsellors,

The Bishop of *Bayeux* was an Earle of *Kent* committed to prison.

Referred for
greater mis-
chiefe.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy he bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-bear him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy warre, and died in the siege of *Antioche*.

Lanfranc.

Lanfranc was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to do good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard he raised him) lay some tye, yet his affecti- ons could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to op- pose against *Odon*, the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in al he could, stood so betweene the kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fal- len into. For the Conqueror (howsoever austere to others) was to him alwaies milde and yeelding, as if subdued with his grauity, and vertue.

The Reforma-
tion of the
Clergie by
Lanfranc.

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergie, introducing a more Southerne formolity and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to bee an actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertainment to deuotion, hee did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and conueniencie to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole reigne of this busie new state-build- ing King, and after his death, seeing his successor in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to faile his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, diuining of future mischieues by present courses, grew much to lament (with his friends) the teadioutnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing hee would often desire of God.

*William Fitz
Auber* Earle
of *Hereford*,
made Lawes
in his Pro-
uince.

William Fitz. Auber (as is deliuered) was a principall counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein hee furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Prouinces) hee ordained, That in the County of *Hereford*, no man of war (or souldier) should be fined for any offence what soeuer, above seven shillings; when in other Countries, vpon the least occasion of disobey- ing their Lord will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor, in all the affaires of *England*, and *Normandy*, a chiefe fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richeld*, Countesse dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernment of that Country, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son; of whom, with the King of *France*, he had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate, *Robert le Frison*, his vnclé (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*, had vsurped. And against him *Fitz. Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph*, surprized and slaine.

The death of
William the
first.

And this was in the fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had bene the especiall actors in all his fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beau- mont*, *Monfort*, *Harcombe*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Comte de Vannes* &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there dispos- ing his estate, ended alio his act, in the 74 yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his reigne.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue layne neglected, while his

his seruants attended to imbeasle his moueables : in the end , his yongest sonne *Henry*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane* ; where first at the entry into the Towne , they who carried the Corpses, left it alone, and ran all to quench a house on fire : Afterward brought to be intombed, a gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Row*, their first founder , for Iustice: whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a roome to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a liuing Dog more then a dead Lyon.

His Corps lay vnburied 3. dayes.

His interment hindered.

He had a faire issue by *Maude* his wife, foure sons, and fixe daughter. To *Robert* his eldest, he left the Duchy of *Normandy* : to *William* the third son, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to be payd him by his brothers, *Richard* who was his second son, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow, and of *Richard* the son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His issue.

His eldest daughter *Cicile*, became a Nun, *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittaine*: *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun, in her age ; such was then their deuotion, and so much were these solitary retires, affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warreine*, the first Earle of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret*, died before marriage.

The description of William the first.

Now, what hee was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, wee finde him of an euen stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting, or standing , till his corpulency increasfing with age, made him somewhat vnweildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was neuer sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continual actions, he felt not the weight of yeeres vpon him till his last yeere.

What was the composition of his mind; wee see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great worke he effected. And though hee might haue some aduantage of the time, wherein we often see men preuaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a iust measure taken of his actiue vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion : Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrencies of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Hauing on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, farre mightier in people and shipping then himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome, as eger to recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

For his deuotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Maiesity, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obseruation of the first, the Clergy (that loued him not) confesse: the other was seene, in the often pardening, and receiuing into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if he held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and sought not to defeat men, but their enterprizes : for we finde but one Noble man executed in all his reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his faith before : And those he held prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Sward*, with *Wolfsnoth*, the brother of *Harald*, and others (vpon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

His deuotion and mercy.

But one noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

Besides, hee was as farre from spuspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as he gaue *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court : And (vpon his suite) sent him well furnisht to the holy War, where he nobly behaued himselfe, and attained to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in respect of his alliances

His workes of
piety.

alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must haue part of this commendations.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predecessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Prouince, seuen Abbeyes of Monkes, and fixe of Nunnes; with which fortresses (as he sayd) he furnisht *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Diuell. In *England* he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hitching-brooke* in *Huntingdonshire*, and the other at *Armburgh* in *Cumberland*, besides his other publike workes.

Magnificent he was in his Festiualls, which with great solemnity and ceremony (the formall entertainers of reuerence and respect) he duly obserued: Keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, and Pentecost at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State, and largenesse. Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at such times. And these ceremonies his first succesor obserued; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of William the first.

The Life, and Reigne, of William the second.

1087.
Anno
Reg. I.



William the second, sonne to *William* the first, not attending his Fathers funeral, hasts into *England* to recouer the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-bishop *Lanfranc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) he obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom, by his obsequiousnesse he had much indeered himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*: He was a Prince more gallant then good, and hauing bene bred with the sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of fortune, was of a nature rough, and haughty, wherunto, his youth, and Soueraignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succeed in a Gouvernement, fore-ruled by mature, and graue Counsell, hee was so ouerwhelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe then otherwise he would haue done. And then the shortnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares; allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of his first gouernment had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, beeing none of his, and the elder brother liuing: howsoeuer his fathers will was, hee must now be put, and held in possession of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of relieuements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to doe, being to deale with a State consisting of a two fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) hauing a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that vnlesse he would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to haue them firmly his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the *Normans*, was by money, and the *English*, with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestow on the one, and to promise the other, more then befitted his estate, and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great giuers must alwayes giue) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwise he could euer haue had, beeing forced to all the dishonorable shifts for raising moneyes that could be deuised, and euen to resume his owne former grants.

William the second resumes
his owne
Grants.

And to begin at first to take the course to bee euer needy, presently after his Coronation, hee goes to *Winchester* where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amassed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, hee lost more, being not able to content all. And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great engine) money, he had to giue hopes: and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others,

others, who were mainly for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortune, vpon their first foundation. And for this purpose, borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the father and mother had left much Treasure) and for the same, engages the Countrey of *Constantine*, and leuies an Army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better seiled him in his gouernment) then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes Per annum.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Countrey of *Constantine* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which hee had engaged it. Whereupon King *William* vpbayds *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsury) in lending money to deprive him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his Brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint *Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his money was serued with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyle, in the Countreies of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odon, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earldome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what he had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as he found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme to distract the Kings forces: as first *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselves in *Bristol*, and take in all the Countrey about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandemont* about *Leicester*: *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Raulfe Mortimer*, all *Normans*, and assaile the City of *Worcester*, making themselves strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Roche-ster*, makes good all the Coast of *Kent*, sollicites *Robert* to vse what speed hee could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*: which had he done in time, and not giuen his brother so large opportunity of preuention, hee had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his friends, vnder worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which he did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other relieuements of their dolances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as he soone brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beate their Conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

Montgomery, being won from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts repress, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Roche-ster*, which were *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence giuen of the ariual of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place; and retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abiure *England*.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as he might hold him from any future attempts abroad for euer after. Where first he obtaines Saint *Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Countrey of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abathie* of mount Saint *Michel*, *Cherbourg*, and other places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Phillip* King of *France*, who

Robert of *Normandy* borrowes summes of his brother *Henry*, to purchase the Kingdome of *England*.

Odon for malice to *Lanfranc*, seeks to distract the Kings forces.

The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releuuing the dolances and granting former freedoms to the *English*.

1088.

Anno
Reg. 2.

Duke Robert
driven to
peace.

1089.

Anno

Reg. 3.

1091.

Anno

Reg. 4.

The Kings vn-
daunted valor.

The King and
his two brethe-
ren agreed.

1092.

Anno

Reg. 5.

Duke Robert
commits his
brother Henry
to prison.

1093.

Anno

Reg. 6.

who comes downe with an Army, into Normandy; but overcome with the power of money wherewith King William assailed him, did him little good, and so retired.

Whereupon Duke Robert, in the end, was driven to a dishonorable peace, concluded at Caen, with these Articles. First, that King William should hold the Countie of Eu, Fescampe, and all other places, which he had bought, and were deliuered vnto him, by William Earle of Eu, and Stephen Earle of Aumal, sisters sonne to William the first. Secondly, Hee should ayde the Duke to recover all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Dutchy. Thirdly, that such Normans, as had lost their estates in England, by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereunto. Fourthly, that the survivor of either of them should succeed in the Dominions both of England and Normandy. After this peace made, by the mediation of the King of France, whilst William had a strong Army in the field, Duke Robert requested his ayde against their brother Henry; who still kept him in the Fort of mount Michel, vpon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For beeing a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe, (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was euery way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should haue tooke to either (their turne being serued, his owne might be in hazard; and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde siege to this Castle; And one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there fallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse; whereof three ranne at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, gales, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaues the King, and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to saue his saddle, answered: *It would haue angered him; the Bretons should haue bragged, they had won the saddle from vnder him; and how great an indignity it was for a King to suffer inferiours to force any thing from him.*

In the end Henry grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although hee had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke Robert that hee might haue his necessity supplied. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith William being displeased, Duke Robert told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craved it, and that if hee perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith William likewise relenting, they sent for Henry, and agreement is made; That he should hold in mortgage the Countie of Constantine, till the money was paid, and a day appointed to reuine it at Rouen.

Which accord King William the rather wrought, to draw as much from Robert as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but posselt himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Dutchy: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of Normandy; Edgar Atheling, whom Robert held his Pensioner, & as a stone in his hand, vpon all occasions to threaten William with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And besides, he wrought so, as either through promise of money, or some farther ratification to be made here, hee brought his brother Robert with him ouer into England, and tooke him along in an expedition against Malcolm, who had incroched vpon his territories during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, Robert, soone after returnes much discontented into Normandy, and as it seemes, without money to satisfie his brother Henry. Who repairing to Rouen at a day appointed, in stead of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before hee could be released, forced to renounce the Countie of Constantine, and sweare neuer to claime any thing in Normandy.

Henry complaines of this grosse iniustice, to Phillip King of France, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of Normandy, named Hachard, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (mauge his brother Robert) within the Dutchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle Dampfront was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, hee got all the Countrey of Passays, about it, and a good part of Constantine, by the secret ayde of King William, Richard de Binieres, and Roger de Mannonile.

Duke

Duke Robert leuies forces, and eagerly wrought to recouer *Dampfrent*, but finding how *Henry* was vnderfet, inueighes against the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer, passes King *William* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie, then do any great matter; as a Prince that did more contend then warre; and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles; but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to bee wrought, and makes the more shew of force; sending ouer into *England* for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to be shipped: an offer was made to be proclaimed by his Lieutenant, that giuing ten shillings a man, whosoever would, might depart homie to his dwelling: whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and serued to see the King of *France*, vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke Robert, who seeing himselfe left by the *French*, must needs make his peace as the other would haue it.

Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gaue him more businesse then honour. Beeing driuen in the one to incounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many necessitites. *Wales* he sought to subdue; *Scotland* so to restraine; as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings, seeming more willing to haue peace then to seeke it, are brought to an enteruiew. *Malcolin* vpon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Glocester*; where, vpon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demands, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolin*, standing vpon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the iudgement of the Primare of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdain, and rankor in *Malcolin*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that vpon his returne, armed with rage; he raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before he had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking vterly to destroy it, and to haue gone farther, was, with his eldest son *Edward* slaine, rather by the fraude then power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that County: The grieft of whose deathes, gaue *Margaret*, that blessed Queene, hers. After whom, the State elected *Dufnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were habored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second son to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes, *Dufnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde he brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should neuer more entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his seruice.

This businesse settled; *Wales* struggling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Countrey: but they (retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey*) auoided the present furie. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprising the Isle (their chieftest retreat,) committed there barbarous examples of cruelty, by execrations, and miserable dismembring the people; which immanity, was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer boord into the sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Normay*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming vpon that coast from taking in the *Orcaides*, encountred with him and that force he had at sea.

These were the remore businesse, when a conspiracy brake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'On*, and many others, which are sayd to haue sought the destruction of the King, and the advancement of *Stephen* Earle of *Albemare*, his Annts sonne, to the Crowne; which gaue the King more trouble then danger: for, by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse

1084.
Anno
Reg. 7.

The King of
Scots, & his son
Edward slaine,
causes Queen
Margaret to dy
with griefe
Roger Houeden.

1085.
Anno
Reg. 8.

businessse (wherein he used the best strength of *England*) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the vnder takers. But it wrought an ill effect in his nature, by hardening the same to an extreame rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, *William d' Ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury* being overcome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuie members cut off. *William de Alueric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and allyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though both in his confession to Oimond the Bishop there, and to all the people as he passed to his execution, he left a cleere opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But now; whilst these fractures here at home, the vntrepairable breaches abroad, (were such) as could giue the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Christian world was out, either at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church; Pope *Urban*, assembling a generall Councell at *Cleimont* in *Auergne*, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof, to ioyne themselves in action, for the recouery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*, tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an active, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Such, and so great grew the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of heauen to all the pious vnder takers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leauing all what the deerenesse of their Countrey contained, drew to this warre 300000. men; all which, though in Armes, passed from diuers Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a generous Prince, bred in the warres of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, was the first that offered vp himselfe to this famous voyage; and with him his two brothers, *Eustace* and *Banlonin*, by whose examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count of *Vermondors*, brother to *Phillip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Frison*, Earle of *Flanders*; *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and *Charters*: *Aimar* Bishop of *Pay*, *William* Bishop of *Orange*; *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainant*, *Bandonin*, Earle of *Reibel*, and *Garnier* Earle of *Greiz*; *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*; *Yoard* Earle of *Die*; *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*; *Guilluam* Count of *Forests*, *Stephen* Conte of *Aumaul*; *Hugh* Earle of *Saint Pol*; *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany*, and the Countries adioyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with others, whose names are lost: *Spaine* onely had none; being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

Most of all these Princes and great personages to furnish themselves for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Liege*, and *Meux* to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of *Sartency*, and *Monfa* to *Richard* Bishop of *Verdun*: and to the same Bishop, *Bandonin*, his brother, sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his liuehood to the Church: *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*: and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchie of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakened the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long, and bloody businessse, about the inuestitures of Bishops; tooke away and inebled his partisans, abated, as if by *Ostracisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him, but also aduanced the State Ecclesiasticall by purchasing these great tempor-

ralities,

Peter the Her-
mits gets
300000. men
to recouer the
Holy Land.

1097.
Anno
Reg. 10.

(more honorable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduising the vndertakers, seeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make ouer their estates to the Clergie, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to haue the fayrest dealing; then vnto Lay-men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in France came to bee posselt by the Clergie: and afterward vpon the same occasion, many things more sold vnto them in England, especially when Richard the first vndertooke the voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to Hugh Bishop of Durham (and also, for his mony) created him Earle of Durham, as appears in his life.

This humor was kept vp, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there through contagion arising from a disagreeing climate: and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest men of all our West world, and especially France. For Germanie, and Italie, those who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him; but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: the Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in Asia, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heates and coldneses (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall Nations, emulous, and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such as were of an entire bodie, their weakenesses, and the way to conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

And by this meanes King William here was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of Normandy during his reigne, and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in England. Where now, in making vp this great summe to pay Robert, he vsed all the extreme meanes could be deuised: as hee had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergie, being the first King which shewed his successors an euill precedent of keeping their Liuing vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himselfe, as hee did that of Canterbury, foure yeares after the death of Laufranc; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at Gloucester, the sixth yeare of his reigne, his Clergie, in the weakenesse of his body, tooke to worke vpon his minde, so as hee vowed, vpon his recouerie to see all vacancies furnished, which he did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that hauing escaped the daunger hee would willingly haue deceived the Saint: And Anselme, an Italian borne, though bred in Normandy, is in the end preferred to that See. But, what with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, he neuer enioyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the inuestitures of Bishops, and other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doe, to many of his successors. Anselme not yeelding to the Kings will, forsooke the Land; whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of Canterbury, the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Sarum, and eleuen Abbayes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

He vsually sold all spirituall preferments to those would giue most, and tooke fines of Priests for fornication: he vexed Robert Bluet Bishop of Lincolne in suite, till hee payd him 5000 pounds. And now the Clergie, vpon this taxe, complayning their wants, were answered, That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels they should not spare them. Hee also tooke money of Iowes, to cause such of them as were conuerted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their vabeeleefe, then their conuersion. Wherein hee discouered the worst peece of his nature, Irreligion.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layetie, he set informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raising moneys, wherein

An Emperour of Germany, 2. Kings of France with their wine, a King of England, and a King of Norway went all thither in person.

1099.
Anno
Reg. 12.

The Kings shew of religion.

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Ranulph* gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellour. Profusion euert in wart.

wherein he failed not of fit Ministers to execute his will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops, to counterpoise the Clergie, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, either in his buildings (which were the new Castle vpon *Tine*, the City of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appealed the King of *France* with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the City of *Mans* was surpris'd by *Hely Conte de la Flesche* who by his (wife pretended right therunto, and was aided by *Fouques d' Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wils him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And sodainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisions, and people for his journey. hee sayd; *They who loue mee, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tulb*, sayd he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harsten*, sends for his Captaines, and men of warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte de la Flesche, hauing more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where, more enraged, then dismaide with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had hee not bene taken with a wile, hee would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea; and were hee againe at libertie, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King lent for him, *Set him at libertie, gaue him a faire Horse, had him goe his way, and doe his worst.* Which act overcame the Conte more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruant, which brought him a new paire of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings; wherewith being angrie, hee asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a paire of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to haue cost more. An example of the Weare of the time, the humor of the Prince, and the deceit of the seruant.

The King returnes into England with great iollity, as euert bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobilitie with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at *Westminster*, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetrie of State, when hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being hunting with his Brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age when he had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the graue counsell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne seares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had bene absolute for State; had he not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince, and people miserable.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of William the second.

The Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.



HENRY the yongest sonne of *William* the first, being at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who should haue succeeded *William*, was chosen King of *Ierusalem*, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne. all expedition possible was vsed, lest the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy warres (being now in *Apulia*, coming home) might be noyed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The first actions of his gouernement tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subiection (as his predecessor) vpon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and aduisednesse: this being a Prince better rectified in iudgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, hauing fighed with other men vnder the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by hauing somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclearke*.

First, to fasten the Clergy, *Hee furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his Brother had kept empty, recalls Anselme home to his Bishopricke of Canterbury, and restores them to all whatsoeuer priuiledges had beene infringed by his Predecessor.* And for the Layetic, *Hee not onely pleased them in their releuements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions, which euermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who haue the actiue power, where themselves haue but the passiue, and commonly turne as they are mooued.*

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtilty, of his Tongue (from infimous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a streight and loathsome prison, being famed to haue put his Maister into all these courses of exaction and irregularities, and remains amongst the examples of perpetual ignominie. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couerses* Bell were forbidden them vpon great penalty, since the beginning of *William* the first. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the Kingdome are ordained, and besides to make him the more popular and beloued, hee matches in the Royall bloud of *England*, taking to wife *Mande*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloister, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert* returning from the holy warres, and receiued with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandy*, shakes the ground of all this businesse: the first yeere threatening, the second, arriuing with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the course of succession, hauing a mighty partie in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who either mooued with Conscience or their discontent (a sicknesse rising of selfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occasion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are readie to encounter, when, for auoyding Christian bloud, a treaty of peace was moued, and in the end concluded with these Article:

1. That seeing *Henry* was borne since his father was King of *England*, which made him the eldest son of a King, though the last of a Duke and now inuessed in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he should enioy the same during his life, paying to *Robert* 3000 markes per annum.
2. And *Robert* suruiuing, to succeed him.
3. That all, who had taken part with *Robert* should haue their pardon, and receiue no detriment.

This businesse thus fairely passed ouer, *Robert* of a generous and free Nature, staies and feasts with his Brother here in *England*, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas,

1100.

Anno
Reg. 1.

The ministers
of exactions
punished,

Ralph Bishop
of *Durham*
committed to
prison.
Dissolute per-
sons expelled
the Court.

Robert Duke
of *Normandy*
returns
from the holy
warre.

1101.

Anno
Reg. 2.

The agree-
ment between
Henry and his
brother.

1102.

Anno
Reg. 3.

Henry claymes
the inuesti-
tures of Bi-
shops.
Anselme op-
pugnes the
Kings prero-
gatiue.
The King
sends to the
Pope.

1103.
Anno
Reg. 4.
Anselme fol-
lows.
Vide Append.

The King and
Anselme accor-
ded.

The Earle of
Shewsburies
combination.

1104.
Anno
Reg. 5.

Michaelmas, and then returnes into *Normandy*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher straine of Regality, and now stands vpon his Prerogatiue, for the inuestitures of Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesse: in so much as the King dispatches an Ambassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right hee had to such inuestitures, from his Predecessours, the Kings of *England*, who euermore conferred the same without interruption, till now of late.

Anselme followes after these Ambassadours, goes likewise to *Rome*, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands stiffly to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast, strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constrained (and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour, and other Princes, about the same businesse) takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, solliciting him with kind Letters, full of protestations, to further any designes of his that might concerne his State, if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and hauing purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, consents to satisfie the Popes will: and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. *Anselme* is re-called, after a yeares banishment, and the Ambassadours returne with large remunerations.

Whilest these things were managing at *Rome*, there burst out here a flame, which consumed the parties that raised it, and brought the King more easily to his ends, then otherwise he could euer haue expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, sonne to *Roger de Mongomerie* (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his friends, fortifies his Castles of *Shrewsburie*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tickhill*, and *Arundell*; with some other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vncertaine) which put the King to much trauell and charge: but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, hee scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred vpon condition, that the Maister might bee permitted to retire safe into *Normandy*; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby aduancing the Kings reuenues, hee goes to lose *Normandy* also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as he came thither, hee fastens amity with one of like condition and fortunes as himself (an exiled man,) whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, sonne to *Robert*, halfe Brother to King *William* the first. Who being also Earle of *Cornwal*, made sute likewise, to haue that of *Kent*: which his Vncle *Odon* lately held; but being denied it, and also euicted by Law, of certaine other parcels of Land, which hee claimed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not only he assaults the Kings Castles, but also vsurpes vpon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Chester*, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselues, and with their Adherents committed many outrageous actions, to the great spoile and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complained to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, he being now growne poore by his out-lauishing humour, began it seemes, to bee little respected: or else false from action, and those greatnesse his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht will ill fortunes are) false likewise in spirit, and giuen ouer to his ease. Wherupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who sends for his Brother *Robert*, Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; aduises him to act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke: and in conclusion, whether by detention of his pension, or drawing him, being of a facile

facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as he ioynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he raised all his utmost forces to be reuenged on his brother.

The King, touched in Conscience with the fowlenesse of a fraternall war (which the world would take, he being the mightier, to proceed out of his designs) stood doubtful what to doe, when Pope *Paschall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (saith *Malmesbury*) wherein hee was quicke, perswaded him, *That herein hee should not make a ciuill warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefit vnto his Countrey*: Whereby (paide for remitting the Inuestitures) hee held himselfe countenanced in this businesse; whereon, now he sets with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Castle of *Tenechbray*, his enemies with much adoe, were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein forty yeares before) *Normandy* ouer-came *England*; such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

And here *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to bee de- priued of his Dutchy and all hee had, brought prisoner into *England*, and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, hee had the misfortune of a long life (suruiuing after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, hauing his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

He was a Prince, that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein hee had the second command, and was in election to haue bene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceed from a rough hand borne ouer him, and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) sets a staine vpon him: and then, his profusion (which some would haue liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that ouerthrew him. All the Reuenues of his Dutchy, which should serue for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was vpon passing the City of *Roan* vnto the Cittizens, which made him held vnfit for the gouernment, and gaue occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, & entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland*, by his Match, and doing their Princes good, he held from doing him hurt; clearing them from vsurpations. *Wales*, though vnder his Title, yet not subiection, gaue him some exercise of action; which he ordered with great wisdom. First he planted within the body of that Countrey, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much pestred this Kingdome: being admitted heere in the reigne of King *William* the first, marrying their Country-woman, and vsing their helpe in the action of *England*; where they dayly encreased, in such sort, as gaue great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grieuance was eased, and the vse of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and held it in that sort, as they kept the *Welsh*, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe mens sonnes of the Countrey, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip* the first liued: who, wholly giuen ouer to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his sonne he was to looke vnto, whensoever he came to that Crowne.

With the Earle of *Flanders* he had some debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occasion. King *William* the first, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldwin* the first had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning empty from the Holy warres, and finding this summe paide out of *England* to his Predecessors, demaunds the same of King *Henry*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the custome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gaue pensions, they were

1105.

Anno
Reg. 6.

England wins
Normandy.

Robert Duke
of Normandy
is imprisoned
by King Hen.

1106.

Anno
Reg. 7.

King Henry
Duke of Nor-
mandy.

1107.

Anno
Reg. 8.

temporary, and according to desert. Which answered so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward *William*, the son of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recovery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other; hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisdome so settled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Philip* the first, gaue him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes one; taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, scituate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*; whilst *Louys* was trauailed with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vpon their Franchises, within their owne Signories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartini*, *Champaigne*, and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselves vnder the protection of *Henry*; who being neere to assist them, fostered those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselves. But after *Louys*, by yeeres gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the first, hauing (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry* the fourth who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee died; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leauies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*, and made him take his Oath of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into alliance with the King of England, takes to wife his daughter *Maud*, being but five yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* son of the Conte de *Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Councell at *Reims*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the first is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of England, seeing this Councell was held in France, and composed chiefly of the *Gallicane* Church, desirous to ouer-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set vpon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assaile him on the other. The Emperour easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of England doth the like. The King of France seeing this storme comming so impetuously vpon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre vnder taken in a heate, with the importance of a kind Neighbourhood, aduise the Emperour not to enter thereinto, till hee had signified to the King of France, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of France answers, *That hee grieved much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissensions, whereby might bee feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that hee was friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish for the good and quiet of Christendome.* This Embassage wrought so, as it disarmed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of England, who expected greater matters to haue risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom the Emperour yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

King Henry
quarrels with
the King of
France.

1108.

Anno
Reg. 9.

The Popes
Oath to the
Emperour.

The Emperour
Hen. 5. marries
Maud.

Historie of
France.

The King of
France ac-
cords the
Pope and
Emperour.

The

The King of England disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceeds notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he failed of outward forces, he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him : aiding *Theobald, Conte de Champagne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure : besides, hee obtained a strong side in that Kingdome, by his alliances : for *Stephen Earle of Bloys*, had married his sifter *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke, Earle of Anion* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandy*) to bee his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

Louys on the other side, failes not to practise all meanes to vnder- worke *Henries* estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William Earle of Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the son of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance : and had the fairer shew of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

Great and many were the conflicts betweene these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anion*. And *William*, son to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Duchy of *Normandy* : And *William*, the son of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himselfe, and desists from his claime.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowerneesse of griefe, as ouercame all the ioy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seuentene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary*, Countesse of *Perch*, their sifter; *Richard Earle of Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Mariners, setting out from *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at sea, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to haue bene saued, had not the compassion of his sifers cryes, drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perishe with his company.

Which sudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these buxlings seemed past ouer, might make a conscience shrink with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repaid with the extinction of that, for which so much had bene wrought, and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as if to begin the fate, layd on all the future succession hitherunto; wherein the third heire in a right descent, seldome or neuer enjoyed the Crowne of *England*, but that either by vsurpation or extinction of the male blood, it receiued an alteration :) which may teach Princes to obserue the wayes of righteousness, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his prouidence.

After this heavy disaster, this King is said neuer to haue bin seene to laugh, though within siue moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adalicia*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of the house of *Lorraine*, but neuer had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in *France*. *Normandy* it selfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew : his great confederates are most regayned to the King of *France* : *Foulke, Earle of Anion* quarrels for his daughters Dower : *Robert de Melent*, his chiefe friend and Counsellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh Earle of Monfort*, and wrought him great trouble.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and *Anion*, death : which beeing so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of *England* there, the King fastens vpon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had bene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of *Lombardy* and *Lorraine*) to the now Earle *Geffery Plantagenet*, the son of *Foulke*.

The King of *France* to fortifie his opposition, entertaines *William* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay : and aides him in person, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaultance of issue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, slaine in a battell in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William*,

King Henry aides Conte *Theobald* against the king of *France*.

The King of *France* combines with the Earle of *Flanders*, against King *Henry*.

III 16.

Anno

Reg. 17.

Queen *Maud* liued not to see this disaster

*Robert de Melent*s conspiracie.

II 23.

Anno

Reg. 25.

Maud the Emperesse married to *Geffery Plantagenet*.

II 26.

Anno

Reg. 27

1133.
Anno
Reg. 34.

His govern-
ment in peace

The first vse of
Progresse.

The beginning
of Parlia-
ments.
Hee assembles
the first Parli-
ament after
the Conquest.
See Append.
His reformati-
ons.

His meanes to
raise monies.

Vide Append.

Tilburienſis de
Scaccario.

as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was deprived, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

And now the whole care of King *Henry*, was the settling of the succession vpon *Maude* (of whom he liued to see two sonnes borne) for which he conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritor of the Crowne. This oath was first taken by *David*, King of *Scots*, vnclie to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne* and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and aduanced his brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all more fast, this oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepe, which are saide to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if hee defended himselfe against assaults of his person; which sheweth, all was not well within.

His government in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest make: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his reigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after the care to establish his succession, held him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby things were carried with that euennesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all satisfaction. Hee made diuers progresse, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordred. And for that purpose, whensoever he was in *England*, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festiualls in serueral, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) hee tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which he first conuoked at *Salisbury*, Anno Reg. 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of *Normandy*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glory, and security of their posterity.

He was a Prince that liued formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subiects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecency thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great businesse, and his wants taught him frugality, and warinesse of expence; and his warres being seldome inuasiue, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, hee obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) Anno Reg. 15. three shillings vpon euery hide-land, but hee had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*. Hee kept Bishopricks and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of *Canterbury*, fise yeares together. By an act of Parliament at *London*, Anno Reg. 30. hee had permission to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests, whom (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enioy their wiues: but heereby hee displeased the Clergy, and disappointed that reformation.

Punishments which were mutilation of member, hee made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long being in *Normandy*, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to be paid in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and receiued in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subiect; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests, which

which tooke vp much faire ground of the Kingdome; and besides renewing former penalties, made an Edi&th; That if any man in his owne priuate woods, killed the Kings Deere, he should forfeit his woods to the King. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which vnder him seemes to haue had their original, by the example of that of his at Woodstocke, the multitude whereof grew to be afterward a diseafe in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his warres, and his many and great fortifications in Normandy. His buildings were the Abbey of Reading, the Mannor of Woodstocke, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seuen miles about.

The most eminent men of his Councell were, Roger Bishop of Sarum, and the Earle of Mellent, both men of great experience in the affaires of the world. Roger was euer as Viceroy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three, and foure yearer together. Hee had managed the Kings money and other affaires of his house, when he was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby he gained an especiall trust with him euer after, and discharged his part with great policy and vnderstanding; had the title of *Iusticiarius totius Anglia*. Of whose magnificence and spacious minde, wee haue more memorials left in notes of stone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his stately structures, especially that of the *Deuises* in Wiltshire, shewes vs the carkasse of a most Roman-like Fabricke. Besides, hee built the Castles of *Malmsbury* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and all these he liued to see rent from him, and sealed into the next Kings hands, as beeing things done out of his part, and lie now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, he walled old *Salisbury*, and repaired the Church there.

Robert Earle of Mellent, was the son of Roger Beaumont; who of all the great men which followed William the first in his ciuill warres of Normandy, refused to attend him in his expedition for England, though with large promises inuited thereunto, saying, *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his Son Robert was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in England and Normandy. Was a man of great direction in Counsell; and euer vsed in all the weighty affaires of the State. His frugality, both in apparell and diet, was of such example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end hee fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

Besides these, this King was serued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designs of his in France, for the preservation of his State in Normandy. Whither in the 32 yeere of his reigne, he makes his last voyage to die there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sunne, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after in the thirty five yeare of his reigne.

He was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne haire (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more solide constitution, with better ordered affections. Hee had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subiects into the fashion of the booke, and diuers learned men flourished in his time.

He had by Maud his wife the daughter of Malcolm the third, King of Scotland, none other children but Maud and William, of whom any certaine mention is made: but hee is said to haue had of children illegitimate seuen sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes vs his incontinencie: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, Robert and Raynold were Earles, the one of Gloucester (a great Champion and defender of his sister Maud the Empresse) the other Earle of Cornwall, and Baron of Castle-combe. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of France and England, from whom descended many worthy Families, as diuers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and reigne, of Henry the first.

His expences.

His Counsellors.

The magnificent buildings of Roger Bishop of Sarum.

Robert Mellent an especiall Counsellor to Hen. I.

The example of frugality in great men doth much good in a Kingdome,

King Henries death.

His personage

His issue.

The

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135.
Anno
Reg. I.

Reasons why
Maude was
not crowned.

Reasons why
Stephen Earle
of Bullogne
was crowned
King.

King Stephen
possesses the
Treasure of
Hen. 2.
His first Par-
liament at
Oxford.



HE Line Masculine of the Norman extinct, and onely a daughter left, and shee married a French-man, Stephen Earle of Bologne and Mortagne, sonne of Stephen Earle of Blois, and of Adela daughter to William the first, was (notwithstanding the former oath taken for Maude) elected by the State and inuested in the Crowne of England, within thirty dayes after the death of Henry. Vpon what reasons of Counsell, we must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Some imagine, *The State refused Maude, for not being then the custome of any other Kingdome Christian (whose Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath, as being unlawfull. But Roger, Bishop of Salisburie, one of the principall men then in counsell, yielded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was, That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, and without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was Stephen, hauing no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if he should claime any right in the Succession, as being the sonne of Adela, then must Theobald, Earle of Blois, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him: and Henry Fitz Empresse (if they refused the Mother) was neerer in blood to the right Stem, then either. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. Stephen was a man, and of great possessions, both in England and France, had one brother, Earle of Blois, a Prince of great estate: another, Bishop of Winchester (the Popes Legat in England, of power eminent) was popular for his affabilitie, goodly personage, and actiuenesse: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergie; and they (by the working of the Bishop of Winchester, induced to make choice of him) hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them: and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) then vnder such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a priuate oath before the Bishop of Canterburie, to confirme the ancient liberties of the Church; and had his brother to vndertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

But being now in the possession of the kingdome, and all the treasure his Vncle had in many yeeres gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite silver, besides plate and iewels, of inestimable value: after the funerals performed at Reading, hee assembles a Parliament at Oxford, wherein, hee restored to the Clergie, all their former liberties, and freed the Laity from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoever grievances oppressed them, confirming the same by his Charter, which faithfully to observe, he tooke a publique oath before all the Assembly: where, likewise the Bishops swore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; *So long as hee observed the Tenour of this Charter.*

And now as one that was to make good the hold hee had gotten, with power, and his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to haue come vpon him. And first grants licence, to all that would, to build Castles vpon their owne Lands, thereby to fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any over-running inuasion, that should master the field: Which in settled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction, and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by friends, he makes all he could; *Creates new Lords, gives to many great possessions, and hauing a full purse spares for no cost to buy loue, and fidelitie: a purchase very vncertaine when there may be other conueyances made of more strength to carry it.*

Two wayes hee was to looke for blowes: from Scotland on one side, and France on the other: Scotland wanted no instigations: David their King, mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vpon him: Stephen was presently there, with the

the shew of a strong Army, and appeased him with the restitution of *Cumberland*, and his sonne *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, with the Earledome of *Huntingdon*: which, with that of *Northumberland* (as Scottissh writers say) was to descend vnto him by the right of his Mother *Mauke*, who was daughter to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, and of *Indith* Neece to *William* the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and was the sonne of *Syward* Earle of *Northumberland*. And for this the Prince of *Scotland*, tooke his Oath of fealty to King *Stephen* which the father refused to doe, as hauing first sworne to *Mauke* the Emperesse. Though otherwise hee might bee indifferent, in respect that *Stephen* had married likewise his Neece, which was *Mauke* daughter to the Earle of *Bologne*, and of *Mary* Sister to this King *David*, who by this meane was Vncle both to *Mauke* the Queene, and *Mauke* the Emperesse.

The King, returning from this voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertayned him sometime: After which, hee falls dangerously sicke, in so much as hee was noyed to bee dead, by which sicknesse, hee lost more then his health: For his friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another partie to beare them vp: it wakened *Anion*, and sers him on to surprize certaine peeces in *Normandie*, to prepare for the recouerie of his Wiues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his first yeere spent, which shewed how the rest of eightene would prooue, wherein wee are to haue no other representations, But of revolts. besieging of Castles, surprizings, recouerings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destruction, in brieft, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld vs no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition: and therefore herein wee may the better forbear the rehearfall of many particulars, being all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

The King, hauing recouered, would make the world know hee was alitie, and presently passes with forces into *Normandie*, ouercame the Earle of *Anion* in battaile: after makes peace with him; and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Mauke*, covenants to giue them 5000 markes per annum: he entertaines amitie with King *Louys* the seueneth, and causes his sonne *Eustace* to doe him homage for the Duchy of *Normandie*, wherein he was inuested: besides, to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Bleis*, hee giues him a pension of 2000. markes, and so returns againe into *England*, to a warre against *Scotland*, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst hee was held busie in worke, *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, base sonne to *Henry* the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable indutry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part, in these times, for his sister *Maud*) had surprized the Castle of *Bristow*, and procured confederates to make good other peeces abroad in diuers parts: as *William Talbot* the Castle of *Hereford*; *Paynel* the Castle of *Ludlow*; *Lo-mell* that of *Cary*; *Moone* the Castle of *Dunstow*: *Robert de Nichol*, that of *Warham*; *Eustace Fitz Iohn* that of *Walton*, and *William Fitz Allan* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*.

Stephen leaues the prosecution of the Scottissh warres to *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom hee made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many valiant Leaders, as *Walter* Earle of *Albemarle*, *William Peiterell* of *Notingham*; *Walker* and *Gilbert Lacies*: Himselfe brauely attended, bends all his power to repress the conspirators, which hee did in one expedition; recouers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and draue the Earle of *Glocester* home to his sister into *Anion*.

No lesse successe had his forces in the North, against the *Scots*, whom in a great battaile they discomfited and put to flight: Which great fortunes meeting together in one yeere, brought forth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell vpon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse. He calls a Councell at *Oxford*, where occasion was giuen to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State. The Bishops vpon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that their greatnesse was much maligned by

1137.
Anno
Reg. 2.

Robert Earle
of *Glocester*
the naturall
sonne of *Henry*
the first.

King *Stephen*
represses the
conspirators.

He defeated
the *Scots*.

1138.
Anno
Reg. 3.

1140.

Anno
Reg. 5.The King
seizes vpon
the Bishops
Castles, and
Treasure.The Popes
Legat a Bi-
shop, takes
part with Bi-
shops against
the King his
brother.
Malmesburie,The Kings
Reply.

by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisbury*, the *Vies*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to entertaine the partie of *Maunder*: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if foreseeing the mischief comming to him, would gladly haue put off this iourney, and excused it by the debilitie of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his seruants: The satisfaction required, was the yielding up the keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealtie; but that being stood vpon, the Bishop, with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayned of their libertie, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whither (the Bishop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and after three daies assaule, the *Deuises* was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted, to forty thousand markes.

This action, being of an extraordinary straine, gaue much occasion of rumour; some said: *The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it being unfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace, should raise fortresses for warre, and in that sort as might be preiudiciall to the King.* Against this, was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a Brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King, but the Canons, that must iudge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had bene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay men, little affected to Religion.* And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might bee examined, hee appoints a Councell to bee called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned: and thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who there openly vrges the indignitie offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most haynons and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoyle them of their estates: Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions he had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to bee done: that for his part, neither the loue of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his lining, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.*

The King, standing vpon his cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why hee was called thither: Answer was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subiect to the Faith of CHRIST, ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of CHRIST, hee was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions; and therefore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neither the Roman Church, the Court of the King of France, nor the Earle Theobald, brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe aduisedly to render the reason of his acte, and vndergoe a Canonickall iudgement: that hee ought in duty to fauour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, hee was aduanced to the Crowne without any military hand.*

With which answer the Earles departed, attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law; and hauing related the same, are returned with the Kings reply: which *Alberic* vtters, and vrges the iniuries Bishop Roger had done to the King: how hee (seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming vpon his power, had offered violence to the Nephew and seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and to the seruants of *Herui de Lyons*, a man of
that

that Nobilitie and stoutnesse, as would neuer vouchsafe to come vpon any request to the late King, and yet for the loue of this, was desirous to see England: where, to haue this violence offered, was an iniury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of Lincolne, for the ancient hatred to the Earle of Brittain, was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of Salisbury secretly fauoured the Kings enemies: and did but subtilly temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumstances: especially when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of Bristow, he would not lodge him one night in Malesbury: that it was in euery mans mouth, as soone as the Empreffe came, He and his Nephewes would render their Castles vnto him. That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a seruant to the King, and one that administred his procurations, and receiued his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendered them, to auoid the calumnie of their tumult raysed in his Court: If the King found some money in his Castles, he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger had collected it out of the reuenues of the King his Vncle, and predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yielded up the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the coneuants, made betweene him, and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Bishop Roger opposes: That he was neuer seruant to the King, nor receiued his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not iustice for his wrongs in that Councell, he would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, said: That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to bee examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should haue beene giuen against them contrary to the Canons: and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) reuise the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise, by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.

After much debate, the Kings cause was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Archbishop of Roan, an especiall instrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, sayd: That if the Bishops could rightly prooue by the Canons, they ought to haue Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to strine to doe otherwise. And he it (said he) their right to haue them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right, by the decree of the Canons, to haue Castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it bee tolerated, yet in a time of necessitie, they ought to deliuer the keyes.

The Lawier Alberic addes: That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatned, and had furnished some to go to Rome against him. But, sayd he, the King would haue you know, that none of you presume to doe it: for if any goe out of England, contrarie to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning. In conclusion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes priuie: and besides, they saw the swords too busie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Archbishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) besought him, that hee would pittie the Church, pittie his owne soule, and his fame; not to suffer dissention to be, betweene the Kingdome, and the Priest-hood. The King returned them faire words, but held what hee had gotten.

Shortly after, through griefe, died the Bishop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpietied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnfatiable desire of hauing. For whom, the present King in the beginning of his reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellor, the other Treasurer, and vpon his suite, gaue to himselfe the Borough of Malmesbury; inso much as the King would say to his familiars about him: If this man will begge thus still, I will giue him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall hee be weary of craving, ere I of granting. And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to Maude, whose part he beganne to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to Winchester; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by

The Legats
and Arch-
bishops sub-
mission.

Maude the
Empresse con-
ducted into
England.

his ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to lose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) utterly dissolued him. For presently hereupon all his power fell asunder: the Empresse found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of *Glocester* presuming of a sure side, conducted her into *England* onely with 150. men: puts her into the Castle of *Arundell*, and himselfe (attended but with twelue horse) passed away cleere through all the Country to *Bristow*: and from thence to *Glocester*, where he had leisure without opposition, to raise all the Country to take part with the Empresse; who, from *Arundell* Castle, was afterward (by the Legate himselfe, and the Kings permission) conueyed to *Bristow*: receiued with all obedience, grew daily in strength as she went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and settled those parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome by shewing herselfe and her power in diuers places.

Stephen, hauing no part cleere (by reason the Castles, vpon which hee spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that speed to stop this streame, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behinde, that might ouer-take him. And first hee layes siege to the Castle of *Wallingford*, which, *Brian* sonne to the Earle of *Glocester*, held against him: then to the Castle of *Bristow* and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new receiued Princessse, he causes a treatie of peace to be propounded at *Bathe*, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, were appointed Commissioners for the King; and the Earle of *Glocester* for the Empresse; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Empresse seekes to recouer more, the King what he had lost. And lest the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward: and finding the Castle of *Lincolne* posselt by *Ralph* Earle of *Chester*, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*, and holding it not safe to bee in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Chester*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood vpon his defence: but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himselfe out of the Castle, leaues his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his father in law the Earle of *Glocester*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of *Glocester* with an Army of *Welshmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Chester*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried prisoner to *Glocester*, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to bee kept in the Castle of *Bristow*, but in all honourable fashion, till his attempts to escape layd fetters on him.

She labours
the Legat for
the Crowne
of England.

Hereupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat to bee admitted to the Kingdome, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for soueraigne in the succession; and wrought so, as a Parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaine neere to *Winchester*, where in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met: and the Empresse swore, and made affidavit to the Legat, That all the great businesses, and especially the donation of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, should be at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would receiue her as Queene of England, and hold perpetuall fidelitie vnto her. The same oath and affidavit tooke likewise her brother *Robert*, Earle of *Glocester*, *Brian* his sonne, Marquisse of *Wallingford*, *Miles* of *Glocester* (after Earle of *Hereford*) which many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though she neuer came to bee so) and with some few other, made likewise affidavit for his parr, that so long as shee infringed not her couenant, hee would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, shee was receiued with solemne proceession into the Bishops Church at *Winchester*, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of *Saint Davids* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander* Bishop of

Lincolne,

Lincolne, and Nigel Bishop of Ely (the Nephewes of Roger, lately imprisoned) Robert Bishop of Bathe, and Robert Bishop of Worcester, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after came Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Empresse, inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his person and place, without hauing conferred first with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and some of the Layery (by permission obtained) went to the King to Brisfow. The Councell brake vp, the Empresse keepes her Easter at Oxford, being her owne town. Shortly vpon Easter a Councell of the Clergie is againe called to Winchester, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with euery Bishop a-part, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day hee makes a publike speech, *Shewing how the cause (of their Assembly) was to consult for the peace of their country, in great danger of utter ruine. Repeats the flourishing reigne of his Vncle, the peace, wealth, and honour of the Kingdome in his time: and how that renowned King many yeares before his death, had receiued an oath both of England and Normandy, for the succession of his daughter Maude and her Issue. But, sayth he, after his decease, his daughter being then in Normandy, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to bee taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my brother was permitted to reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety betweene God and him, that hee should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath benamed himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieues mee to remember, and I am ashamed to repeat. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other misgovernments. And then, said hee, euerie man knowes I ought to loue my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father: and therefore seeing God hath shewed his iudgement on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miscarrie for want of a Ruler, I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moued in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergie, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after hauing inuoked (as it is meete,) the Diuine aide, wee elect for Queene of England the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, good, and in our time the incomparable King: and to her, wee promise our faith and allegiance.*

The Legats speech to the Clergie, to Crowne the Empresse.

When all, who were present, either modestly gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it, the Legat addes: *The Londoners, who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacie of England, we haue by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, to morrow we will expect them.*

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed *How they were sent from the Communalitie of London, not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captiuitie, and the same did all the Barons (receiued within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergie there present. The Legat answers them at large, and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, That the Londoners, who were held in that degree in England, ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the warre, by whose Councell the Church had bene dishonoured, and who fauoured the Londoners, but for their owne gaine.*

Then stands there vp a Chaplaine to Queene Maude, wife to Stephen, and deliuers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then said aloud, *That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reuerend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible. The Chaplaine nor to taile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: That the Queene earnestly intreats all the Clergie there assembled, and namely the Bishop of Winchester, the brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subiects, held prisoner.*

To this the Legat answers (as to the Londoners) and shortly after the Councell brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely William Martell, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of England willingly accepted of Maude, in whose businesse her brother Robert imployes all his diligence and best care, reforming Iustice, restoring

the Lawes of England, promising releuements, and whatsoener might be to winne the people; the Legat seconding all his courses.

The Legat
leaues the
Empresse.

Is intreated
with teares by
the Queene
regnant.

The Empresse
belieged at
Oxford, the
Earle of Glo-
cester taken
prisoner.

But now, shee being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came suddenly dasht by her ouer-hautie and proud carriage, and by the practise of the Londoners, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie; whereof she hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) vnto *Oxford*, a place of more securitie. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a sute for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance of his Earledome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, Sets vpon him with her teares, intreatie, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation; in so much as she recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolve such of the Kings part as he had lately excommunicated.

The Earle of *Glocester* seeing this sodaine and strange relaps of their affaires, strives by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which to keepe sound, was all. He brings the Empresse to *Winchester*, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Glocester* wrought meanes to haue her conueyd from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lifts of their triall: the two prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euennesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliery (who onely in that was to haue the precedence) but vpon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Legate, vndertooke to yeeld themselues prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Brieves to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might releue them. Which shewes the aduantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his fetters, though at libertie.

II42.
Anno
Reg. 7.

The Queene and *Eustace*, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Brystow* till the Earle were released, which was done vpon the Kings comming to *Winchester* Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the partie of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could moue him being fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue bene content to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, then that *Stephen* should haue bene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

Vide Append.

The Legat, after this, calles a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall, and Secular, to set him at libertie.

King Stephens
complaint.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his subjects, to whom hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: alledging, *How hee receiued not the Empresse by his will, but necessity: that presently vpon the Kings overthrow, whilst the Lords were either fled, or stood in suspence attending the enent, shee and her people came thundring to the walles of Winchester: and that, what pact soener hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: besides, hee was certainly informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignitie, and life:*

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But God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother was deliuered out of bands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them with all their utmost power, to ay'e the King, annoynted by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empreffe, who openly charged the Legat, That in respect of the faith he had giuen the Empreffe, to passe no act there preiudiciall to her Honour: hauing sworne vnto her neuer to ayde his brother with aboue twenty soldiers: that her comming into England, was vpon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner. This, and much more said the Agent with great austeritv of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to be moued at all, nor would stoop to replic.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keepe them asunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertaine the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then warres, and cost more labour then blood. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these enlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empreffe at the Vies with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into Normandy to sollicite her husband the Earle of Anion, to come to ayd her with forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sons of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. Stephen seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of Oxford; which held him all the time the Earle was abroad. Geoffrey Earle of Anion, desirous rather to haue Normandy (whereof, in this meane time, he had attained the most part, and in possibility of the rest) then to aduenture for England, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne Henry, being then but eleuen yeeres of age, that he might looke vpon England, and be shewed to the people, to trie if that would moue them to a consideration of his right: which prooued of more effect then an Army.

The Earle of Gloucester safely returning, makes towards Oxford to relieue the Empreffe, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne gate, onely with foure persons, got ouer the Thames, passed on foot to Abington, & from thence conueied to Wallingford, where her brother and son met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the rifling of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Gloucester, the chiefe pillar of the Empreffe, within two yeares after his last comming out of Normandy died, and shortly after Miles Earle of Hereford, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a son grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ableness to vndergoe the trauailes of warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with David King of Scots his great Vncle, to whom his mother had giuen the Country of Northumberland. After him follows Stephen with an Army to Yorke, lest hee should surprize that Citie, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and French-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, he quailles:

The Earle of Gloucester gets to Normandy.

The Earles returne with the Empreffes eldest sonne Henry.

1143.
Anno
Reg. 8.

The Earle of Gloucester dies.

An. 1151.

nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to aduance the State and meanes of *Henry*, fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Lonys* the seuenth, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guion*, grew into such an odious conceipt of her, vpon the notice of her lasciuious behauiour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vpon h^s comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mightie estate she brought him, then to enioy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeates of age; (being now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recovered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poitton*, Whereupon *Lonys* enraged to see him enlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his son (whom hee married to his Sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recovery of *Normandy*, wherein he was first posselt. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandy*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace*, his competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after hee died, about 18 yeares of his age, borne neuer to bee out of the calamities of warre, and was buried at *Fewerham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other ioy nor glory of a Crowne but what we see. *Stephen*, whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to haue bene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremitie, as they sent to Duke *Henrie* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the middest of Winter, arriues in *England* with 3000 foot, and 140 horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Wallingford*, he layes siege to *Maluesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in vnto him. *Stephen*, now resolved to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number: but floods and stormes, in an vnseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to haue a young Prince get the maistrty by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

1 That King *Stephen*, during his naturall life, should remaine King of *England*, and *Henry* enioy the Dukedome of *Normandy*, as descended vnto him from his mother, and be proclaymed heire apparent to the Kingdome of *England*, as the adopted sonne of King *Stephen*.

2 That the partizans of either should receiue no damage, but enioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.

3 That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had bene aliened by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had bene violently taken from the owners since the daies of King *Henry*, should bee restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the said King reigned.

4 That all such Castles as had bene built by the permission of *Stephen*, and in his time (which were found to be 1117) should be demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reseruatiō for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second son of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification, and all businesse here, settled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandie*, and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* hauing attained (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes

Resumptions

Vide; Append.

seemes, hee enjoyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes hee could to repaire the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vnder the sword: and after his returne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Doner*, who desired conference with him, and hauing dispatcht him, falls presently sicke, dies within few dayes after; and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Fenesham*, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was warre: on the other, wee neuer saw but a glance of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Government. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuement of Tributes, and neuer had Subsidy that we finde.

But which is more remarkable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, He neuer put any great man to death. Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of warre, There were more Abbeyes built in his Reigne, then in an hundred yeares before, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

THAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (weariet and defaced with warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detained with contrary winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: whether carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which he receiued at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth day of December, Anno 1154, about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

And though he were a Prince Young, *Aetive*, Powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming: yet the necessity of his owne affaires were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue, and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Government: being sure to haue the King of *France* perpetually awake, for all aduantages (both in regard of dayly quarrels, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to ouer-match him) being thus inuicted in this powerfull Kingdome of *England*. Where, after hauing made a choice of graue Counsellors, such as best vnderstood the state thereof; hee began at a Councell or Parliament held at *Wallingford* with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) which was the expulsion of Strangers, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of *Flemings*, and *Picards*, whom King *Stephen* especially trusted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the *English* fidelity, and had made their Leader *William d'Ipres*, Earle of *Kent*, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subiects, (whose voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) He lookes to the State, and ordering of his reuenues, reformes the Exchequer, and renoues all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bene alienated, or vsurped. And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession,

A. 1154.
He reigned 18
yeares, and 10
moneths.

1154.
Anno
Reg. I.

Expulsion
of Strangers.

Resumption
of Crowne
Lands.

as *Hugh de Mortimer* for his Castles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth*: and *Roger Fitz Miles*, Earle of *Hereford* for the City and Lands of *Glocester*: Yet the King tooke them by force as appertaining to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of *Skarborough*, which *William* Earle of *Albemarle* held, and diuers other Lands and Castles in *Torkeshire*, possessed by priuate men. *Hugh Bigot* resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from *William* Earle of *Mortaine*, and *Warren*, bafe sonne to King *Stephen*, the Castle of *Pemssey*, the City of *Norwich*: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe graunted the same, in his agreement with *Stephen*; alledging, *They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened*. Only he suffered him to enioy such lands, as his father, King *Stephen* held in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the first.

Then goes hee Northward, and recouers the City of *Carlisle*, seizes all *Cumberland* into his hands: and after takes the Towne of *New-castle*, with the Castle of *Bamberge*, and so resumed all *Northumberland*, which his Mother (the Emperesse) had before granted to *David* King of *Scots*, her Vnkle (Grand-father to *Malcolin*, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to giue away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, *Malcolin* should enioy the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, which King *Stephen* had giuen to *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, father to *Malcolin*, as being a peece in the heart of *England*, whereof he could make no vse, but at the Kings pleasure; and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those seruices belonging to that Earledome.

And the same course tooke he with the Alienations, and vsurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and forced *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, to resigne into his hands, two Castles, and *Petroch* Earle of *Perch*, other two. These reuocations, whereby so many were indamaged in their estates, and *Grants*, both of his Predecessors, and his owne utterly nullified, might seeme, to be an act of great iniustice, and in a new Gouernment, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit: and but few (though great) interessed, it passed as a worke vniuersally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must bee made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall griuance. But the resuming of the Earledome of *Aniou* out of his brother *Geffryes* hands, contrary to his Oath, cannot but be held a straine beyond conscience, and good nature. For his father *Geffrey Plantagenet* desirous to leaue some estate to his second son *Geffrey*, ordained by his Testament, That when *Henry* had recovered the Kingdome of *England*, the other should haue the County of *Aniou*: and in the meane time, put *Geffrey* in possession of the Castles, and Townes of *Ghinon*, *Ledun*, and *Mirabell*, whereby he might, both haue maintenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion serued. And lest his sonne *Henry* should not performe this Will, he got certaine Bishops, and other Nobles to sweare, that they would not suffer his body to be interred, till *Henry*, who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: *Henry*, rather then to suffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied, With great unwillingnesse takes this oath. But afterward being inuested in the Crowne of *England*, and *Geffrey* seazing vpon the Earledome of *Aniou*, he passes ouer into *France*, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three Townes he had in possession; alledging, It was no reason, a forced Oath (vpon such an occasion) should bind him to forgoe the enheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to descend vnto him from his Father: and though he had recovered the Kingdome of *England*; that was not his Fathers worke, but by an other right. And although he held his brother deere vnto him, yet hauing Children of his owne, he was to provide, that what was his, should descend to them. But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds *English*, and two thousand pounds of *Anionin* money yearely) for the maintenance of his estate; and obtained of Pope *Adrian* the seuenth (an *English* man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

And now the first occasion, that put him here into action of warre, was the rebellion of the *Welsh*, who, according to their vsuall manner, euer attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne fortune.

The King resumes the Earledome of Aniou.

1156.
Anno
Reg. 2.

fortunes. Against whom hee goes so prepared, as if he meant to goe through with his worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) *Eustace Fitz. Iohn*, and *Robert Curcy*, eminent persons: and himselfe noyfed to be slaine, so much discouraged that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights, as *Henry* an Earle of Essex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled: but soone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, discomfited his enemies, and brought them, to seeke their peace with submission. The Earle of Essex was after accused, by *Robert de Morfort* for this misdeed, had the Combat, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, all his affaires were in prosperous course, his State increasing, his *Queene* fruitfull, and had borne him three sonnes in England, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Geffrey*: his eldft sonne *William* (to whom he had caused the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty) died shortly after his comming to the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is tendred to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

The King of *France*, who would gladly haue impeached the mighty current of this Kings fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his iourney to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of England; who hauing now almost surrounded *France* (by possessing first all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine*, by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earldome of *Maine*, *Poitou*, *Touaine*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he also laies claime to the rich Earldome of *Tholouse* vpon this Title:

William Duke of Aquitaine, grandfather to *Queene* *Elionor*, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of *Tholouse*, and going to the holy warres, ingaged that Earldome to *Raymond* Earle of *Saint Gyles*, and neuer returned to redeeme it. *William* his sonne, father to *Queene* *Elionor*, either through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof: so that the Earle of *Saint Gyles* continuing in possession whilst hee liued, left it to his sonne *Raymond*, of whom King *Louys* of *France* (hauing married *Elionor*, the daughter and heire of the last *William*) demanded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. *Raymond* refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of a thing absolutely sold or forfeited; but being too weake to contend with a King of *France*, fell to an accord, and married his sister *Constance*, widow of *Eustace* sonne to King *Stephen*, and so continues the possession. Now King *Henry* hauing married this *Elionor*, and with her was to haue all the Rights shee had, tenders likewise (as the King of *France* had done, in the same case) the summe formerly disbursed, vpon the mortgage of that Earldome. And withall makes ready his sword to recouer it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred vpon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Arragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertayning him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with couenant, that *Richard* should haue the inheritance of the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, and the Earldome of *Poitou*. Besides, hee takes into his protection, *William* Lord of *Tranchenille* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholouse*.

These aydes prepared, he leauies an Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earldome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with so many faire words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this warre.

His first expedition into Wales.

The punishment of Corwardize.

1158.

Anno Reg. 4.

The resignation of Nants to the King of England.

King Henries claime to the Earldome of Tholoute.

1159.

Anno Reg. 5.

The

1160.
Anno
Reg. 6.

Prince Henry
contracted to
Margaret daugh-
ter to the
King of France.

The King
seekes to abate
the power of
the Clergy &
the cause ther-
of.

Complaints
against the
Clergie.

1161.
Anno
Reg. 7.
Thomas Becket
preferred to
the Sea of Can-
terbury.

The Earle of *Tholouse* vnderstanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise with a strong Army, comes downe in person to succour *Tholouse*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his forces; whereupon, seeing himselfe preuented, and in disaduan- tage, King *Henry* fell to spoyling the Countrey, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholousains*, and so returns into *Normandy*, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his forces, and enters the Countrey of *Beauvoisin*, where he destroyes many Castles, and commits great spoyles. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, hee obtained of the Earle de *Ananches*, the two strong Castles *Rochefort*, and *Monfort*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orleanse* and *Paris*; in so much as the warre, and weather grew hote betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of bloud was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince Henry, not seven yeares of age, and the Lady Margaret eldest daughter to the King of France scarce three weake linkes, to hold in so mighty Princes. The yong Lady was deliuered rather as an Ostage then a Bride, to Robert de Newburge, to be kept till her yeares would permit her to line with her Husband.* In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betwene the Parents: *The first where- of grew vpon the King of Englands getting into his owne hand the Castle of Gisors, with two other Castles vpon the Riuer Eata, in the confines of Normandy: deliuered vp before the due tyme by three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consummated.* And this cost some bloud: the Knights Templars are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receiues them.

But now the aduantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing him- selfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatiues of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much in- fringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of *Henry* the first, *were thought to haue in- larged their iurisdiction beyond their vocation*: and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all ad- uantages for themselves, whereby they depriued his Mother and her issue, of their suc- cession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke his Sword, the Iustice of this cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein shewed him rather their power, then their affection: and rather put him in mind of what they had done against him at first, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to sur- prise all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion: and therefore is he easily drawne to a- bate their power in what he could.

To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobility (emulous of the others au- thority) layed more weight: *alleging how the immunities of the Clergie tooke vp so much from the Royalty, as his execution of Iustice, could haue no generall passage in the Kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne: and being exempt from Secular punishments, many enormous acts were committed by Clergie-men, with- out any redresse to be had: and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, There had bene aboue a hundreth Man-slaughters committed within the Realme of England by Priests, and men within Orders.*

Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Can- terbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and seruant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancellor, and fin- ding him *Diligent, Trusty, and Wise*, imployes him in all his greatest busineses of the State: by which tryall of his seruice and fidelity, he might expect to haue him euer the readier to aduance his affaires, vpon all occasions. And besides, to shew how much he respected his worth, and integrity, he commits vnto him *the education of the Prince, a charge of the greatest consequence in a Kingdome*, which shall bee euer sure to find their Kings

Kings as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction is set vpon, a worke (in regard of that time of demotion) of great difficultie: the Bishops hauing from the beginning of Christianitie, first vnder the Saxon Kings, principally swayd the Statē: and though at the entrance of the Norman, they were much abridged of their former liberties, they held themselves if not content, yet quiet. For albeit they had not that power in temporall businesse as before; yet, within their owne circle, they held their owne iurisdiction, and immunities: and had since, both by the Law, ciuill warres, and the occasion of forraigne affaires, much enlarged them. So that any restriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veins that were very sensible in that part: especially, by reason of the vniuersall participation of the Spirit that fed them: and therefore could not bee but a businesse of much trouble.

The king conuokes a Councell at Westminster, and there first propounds to haue it enacted, That all such of the Clergie as should bee taken and conuicted for any heinous offence, should lose the priuiledge of the Church, and be deliuered to the ciuill Magistrate, to be punished for their offences, as other the Kings subiects were. For, if after spirituall punishment, no secular correction should bee vsed; there would bee no sufficient meanes to restraints them from doing mischief: seeing it was not likely, such men would much care for their degrading and losse of Orders, whom the Conscience of their calling did not hold in awe.

The Archbishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops, shewed the king how they were not to yeeld to an such Act, being against the liberties of the Church, which himselfe had sworne to defend, and maintayne: and therefore humbly besought him, that hee would not urge any thing to the preiudice of their iurisdiction, and such immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both vnder him and his Noble Progenitors.

The king not liking this answer demands, whether they would submit themselves to the Lawes and customes, which the Archbishops and Bishops, in the time of his Grandfather Henry the first did obserue? They answered, They would; their Order, the honour of God, and holy Church, in all things saved; with which reservation the king grew more displeased, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee saw the Bishops fast to themselves, and the more by the animation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom hee thought (in regard of all those his graces bestowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courses, and therefore his indignation was most against him; and because hee would make him see what the displeasure of so mighty a king was, who could as well cast downe as aduance: First denies him access: then takes from him what hee could possibly, countenances all such as were his opposites, his businesses in any the Kings Courts goe against him, the Earle of Clare is supported in a contestation hee had with him; about his homage for the Castle of Tunbridge, and preuailes: nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And besides the king wrought so, As hee unties the knot, gaines first the Archbishop of Yorke (the ancient Competitor with Canterburie in dignity) and after, the Bishops of Lincolne, Hereford, and the especiall Prelates: and separates them both from the counsell, and company of the Archbishop Becket.

Notice of this iarre being giuen abroade, a Messenger is sent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and to charge the Archbishop to make peace with his Lord the King, and promise to obserue his Lawes without exception. The Archbishop pressed with this message, and the aduice of many great men, repaires to the king at Woodstocke, and there promises in good faith, without any euill meaning, to obserue the Kings Lawes so farre forth as was required.

The king supposing now, things better prepared for his purpose then before, calls a generall Assembly of the Bishops and Nobilitie at Clarendon, where Iohn of Oxford, the kings Clerke was President of the Councell: and a charge is giuen from the king, That they should call to memorie the Lawes of his Grandfather Henry the first, and to reduce them into writing: which being done, hee willed the Arch-bishoppe and Bishops, so set their Seales thereunto. Which when the

A Parliament at Westminster.

1163.

Anno Reg. 9.

A Parliament at Clarendon.

1164.

Anno Reg. 10.

The Arch-bishop Becket, takes his oath to obserue the Kings Lawes.

The King v-seth all meanes to vex the Arch-bishop.

The Arch-bishop repents him of his Oath.

A Parliament at Northampton.

The Arch-bishop called to account.

Roger Hoveden

the rest were content to doe, the Archbishop Becket refused. Yet at length, by the perswasion of the Bishops (vrting him to satisfie the Kings pleasure, and appease his wrath, in regard of his present danger, which, by the rushing vp and downe of the Kings seruants with threatening countenances, they suspected themselves likely to fall into) He tooke his Oath to obserue the Kings Lawes without any reservation. And for the writing desired to haue a copy, as if better to aduise thereof. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergie, and said: *Brethren stand fast, you see the malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware.*

So the Councell ended, but not the Kings displeasure against the Arch-bishop, whom onely hee found, durst beare vp against his power, the rest all yeelding thereunto. And therefore proceedes hee, by all meanes to vex and disgrace him, and to aduance his Concurrant the Arch-bishop of Yorke, whom hee solicites the Pope (by his Agents Iohn of Oxford, and Geoffrey Riddle) to make his Legat of all England. Which the Pope (forewarned, acquainted with this businesse) refused to doe: yet at the petition of thole Agents, granted that Legation to the King himselfe, but so as hee should doe nothing to grieue the Archbishop; which the King tooke as a great indignity, and sent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The Arch-bishop Becket after his oath at Clarendon, so repented, as hee suspended himselfe from the seruice of the Altar, and did sharpe penance till he had obtained absolution from the Pope. Which (vpon his information of the case) was sent him. After this, as some write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrarie to a Law made at Clarendon (forbidding Archbishops, Bishops, and other Persons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leaue. Which, although they obtayned, yet were notwithstanding to secure the King, neither in their going, returning, or staying there, to practise any thing preiudicious to his State or Person.) But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exasperates the king against him.

After this, he is summoned to an Assembly at Northampton (holden about the ratification of the Acts of Clarendon) where (to despite him the more) the Kings horses are placed in his Inne; And there, *First had he a case adiu'dged against him, concerning a Mannor, for which, one Iohn the Kings Marshall contended with him in Law; and besides the losse of the Mannor, was cast in arrerages fine hundred Markes, which the King was said to haue lent him; but he alledged how it was giuen: yet because hee confessed the receipt, and could not prooue the gift, hee was condemned to pay it. Then was he called to render an account to the King of all such receipts as in the time of his Chancellorship he had receiued for the King, of certaine Bishopricks and Abbeyes during their vacancies, which amounted to the summe of three thousand Markes. For these accounts, he alledged, How the King knew well, he was discharged before his election to the See of Canterbury; and how the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, & Robert de Lucie, chiefe Iustice of England had made him his acquittance for all accounts, & secular receipts, in the behalfe of the King: & so free and cleered) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.*

The king, notwithstanding, vrting to haue iudgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts, and disobedience, hee was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, hee celebrates early with great deuotion, the Masse of Saint Stephen Protomartyr, which had these words: *Etenim sederunt Principes, & aduersus me loquebantur*: and so committing his cause to God. sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonickall hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left. The people seeing him come in this fashion, flocke all about him; he entring the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the king being within, in his Priuie Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came forth the Bishop of London, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Archbishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of Winchester seeing, said to London, *Brother, let him alone, he ought well to beare the Crosse*: London replies, *you speake brother against the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this comes forth the Arch-bishop of Yorke (the heate of whose ancient hatred, saith Hoveden, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for

for comming in that fashon, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince; and told him, *that the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if he would be aduised by him, hee should take it from him.* Canterbury replies, *the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Archbishoppe Becket inuayes against this violent proceeding against him: *How no age euer heard before, that an Archbishop of Canterbury had bene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for anie cause whatsoeuer, in regard both of his Dignity and place: and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his subiects.* Then to the bishops, *You see the world rageth against mee, the enemy riseth vp, but I more lament, the Sonnes of my Mother fight against mee. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leaue mee alone in the battaile, and haue indged against me, being your Father, though neuer so much a sinner.* But I charge you by vertue of your obedience, and p-rill of your Order, that you bee not present in any place of iudgment, where my person or cause comes to bee adiudged. And here I appeale to the Pope: Charging you farther by vertue of your obedience, that if any Temporall man lay handes on me, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Archbishop, who will not shrinke howsoeuer, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto him.

Then were all these great complaints of his contempt, Disobedience, and Periury, exhibited, and aggravated against him before the Assembly, and they cried generally he was a Traytor, that hauing receiued so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and obserue his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a periured man and a Traytor.

Then the Earle of Leycester accompanied with Reginald Earle of Cornwall came to the Archbishop, and charged him from the King to answer to what was objected vnto him, or else to heare his iudgement. *Nay, sonne Earle, sayd he, first heare you: It is not unknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I haue serued the King, and how in regard thereof hee preferred mee to the place I haue (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it vpon me, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from mee. At the time of my Election hee made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am deliuered, I am not bound to answer, nor will I.* How much the soule is worthier then the bodie, so much are you bound to obey God and mee rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: and I refuse to stand either to the Iudgement of the King or any other person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to bee adiudged, committing all I haue to Gods protection and his: and vnder that authority I depart out of this place. And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficultie in passing, and many reproches of the Kings seruants.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergie conuayed him honourably to the Abbay of Saint Andrewes, whence disguised (by the name of *Dereman*) hee escaped ouer into Flanders, and so into France.

This businesse of the Church, I haue the more particularly deliuered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it laie so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty, and the rest of the bodie, as it could not well bee omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and burthen it layed vpon him for many yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were vied in this Opugnation.

Presently vpon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to the

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Complaints
against the
Archbishop.

The Archbi-
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fled out of
the Kingdome.

The King
sends Amba-
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the King of France, Gillebert Bishop of London, and William Earle of Arundell, to intreat him, not onely to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cause might not bee favoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Soveraigne Lord.

The King of France notwithstanding this intreaty, sends Frier Francis his Amoyner vnder hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as he tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, to support the cause of Thomas of Canterbury, against the Tyrant of England.

King Henry sends likewise with all speed, Roger Archbishop of Torke, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Excester; Guido Rufus, Richard Iuechester, and John of Oxford, Clerkes; William Earle of Arundell, Hugh de Gundeule, Bernard de Saint Walleric, and Henry Fitz Gerrard, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and preuent the Archbishops complaint. The multitude, and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to haue his cause preuaile. They finde the Pope at the Citie of Sens, to whom, they shewed how peruers and disobedient the Archbishoppe had behaued himselfe to his Soveraigne Lord the King of England: how hee alone refused to obey his Lawes and Customes, which hee had sworne to doe: and that by his peeuish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary: and therefore they besought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of England, and the loue of the King their Soveraigne, not to giue credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent, & dangerous a spirit.

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly vrged) they found moued not any disposition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cause, so that in the end, They besought him to send two Legats ouer into England, to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had beene carried: and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but refer it to their relation. The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes alter, comes the Archbishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feete: deliuiers him a coppie of those Lawes, which the King called his Grandfathers Lawes, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergie, and many other people, the Pope condemned them for euil, and accursed those who obeyed or any way favored them.

Those Lawes among the Statutes of Clarendon, which the Archbishoppe so much opugned (and most offended the Clergie) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of London appeares) these especially: That there should bee no appeale to the Apostolike See without the Kings leaue. That no Archbishoppe or Bishoppe should goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permission. That no Bishoppe excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any officiall of his without the Kings leaue, &c. That Clergie men should bee drawne to secular iudgements. That Lay men (as the King and other) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like. And these were dangerous incroachments vpon their liberties.

But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heauie displeasure, and the score hee tooke, knowe by his seuered Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Archbishoppe, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: ordaining, That if any were found carrying Letter, or Mandate from the Pope, or Archbishoppe, contayning any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken, and without delay executed as a Traytor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatsoener Bishop, Priest, Monke, or Conuerse in anie Order, Clerke, or Layman, should haue and retaine any such letters; should forfeit all their possessions, goods, and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergie men, Monke or other should bee permitted to passe ouer Sea, or retorne out of Normandy into England, without letters from the Iustices here, or from the King being there: vpon paine to bee taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any renenue in England should retorne into the Realme within three moneths, vpon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King.

That

1166.

Anno

Reg 12.

The Kings
Edicts against
the Pope and
his agents.

That Peter Pence should bee collected, and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.

Besides this, hee banishes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Archbishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeeres. And withall, takes occasion vpon the *Schisme* which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rouland a Genefese*, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinals elected Pope by name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinals opposed, and made choyce of *Ostavian* a Cittizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the fift. The Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* summons these two Popes to a Councel at *Paui*, to vnderstand and determine their right. *Alexander* makes the old answer, *that the Pope could not be iudged by any man living*, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into *Anagnia*. *Victor* consents to appeare there, or wheresoeuer the Emperour would appoint, so that, he was the man for that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge *Alexander* for Pope, as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of *France* who called him thither: and at Gocv vpon Lojr, he and the King of *England* receiued him with all honour and reuerence, in so much, as they are sayd to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one, on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at *Tours*, whither the Kings of *England*, *Spaine* and *Hungarie* send their Ambassadors, and there, are the constitutions of the Councell of *Paui*, and the Emperours confirmation of *Victor* nullified, so that *Alexander* hauing his party daily increasing in *Italy*, was shortly after receiued into *Rome*.

The Election of two Popes.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of *England* finding him so auers in this businesse, Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seeks to strength himselfe with the Princes of *Germanie*, consents to match his daughter *Maude* to the Duke of *Saxony*, at the motion of *Reginald Archbishop* of *Collen*, sent ouer by the Emperour for that purpose, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours sonne.

But now, by reason this contrary faction to Pope *Alexander* grew to be but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Archbishops, who solicites the Clergie of *England*, threatens, intreats, aduises them not to forsake their hold, nor giue way to the innador of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priesthood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to bee made vpon them, they were undone. Then excommunicates hee all the especiall Miniisters of the King that adhered to the *Teutonicque* faction, or held intelligence with the Archbishop of *Collen*: As *Iohn* of *Oxford*, *Richard Iuechester*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Iosilin Balliol*, *Alan de Neuile*, and with these all such as had entred vpon the goods of the Church of *Canterbury*, which hee called the patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore: and these were *Ralph de Brocke*, *Hugh Saint Clare*, and *Thomas Eita Barnard*. Thus are both sides buied in this drie warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gaue vexation ynough.

Pope Alexanders letter to the Clergie of England.

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time; for during this dissention, the *Welsh* againe reuolt, and to supresse them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that daunger, as had not *Hubert Saint Clare* receiued a wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his person, hee had there finished his part. In this expedition hee is sayd, to haue vsed extreame crueltie.

The King represses the Welsh.

After this, he passes into *Normandie* to bee neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertaine the opinion of *Pietie* (though hee were false out with the Pope) hee obtaines at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of *Normandie*, twopence in the pound, of euery mans Lands and goods to be payde that yeare 1166: and a penny of euery pound to be payde for foure yeares following, which was leuiued for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy warre, and sent vnto them.

1166.
Anno
Reg. 13.

Then hee raises forces and takes in certaine Castles in the Countrey of *Maine*, and Marches of *Brittaine*, from diuers Lords and Barons that had disobayed him. And whilst he was busie abroade, *Mathew* sonne to the Earle of *Flandres* (who had married the Lady *Marie Abbess* of *Ramsay*, daughter to King *Stephen*, and had by her the Countrey of *Bologne*) attempted something on the Coast of *England*, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any such weake vndertaker.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Conan* Earle of *Brittaine* dies, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succeed him in his State. The King of *England* being then in armes vpon the Marches of *Brittaine*, deales with the Guardians of the yong Ladie to match her to his third son *Geffry*. The Nobility of that Countrey being then of a rough, and haughty disposition (giuen to tewds, and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The death of
Maude the
Empresse.

This fell out to be in the 13 yeare of his reigne, wherein, as some write, died his Mother *Maude* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and aduie Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her son, whom she liued to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse & Peace: Fertile in issue, hauing now had foure sons and three daughters, linkes of loue and strength (oftentimes in priuate families) though seldome in Princes; and shee left him in the best time of his daies before any great tempest ouertooke him.

Three yeares after this, hee employes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from vsurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatnesse held all in awe) and they must haue no more then hee would: especially hee settles and reformes the State of *Brittaine*, which was much out of order, and in mutiny about the late March; which being appeased, hee keepes a soleinne Christmas at *Nantes*, and Royally feasts the Nobilitie of the Countrey.

1169.
Anno
Reg. 16.

Then returns he into *England*, where, lest Peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subiects, hee looks to that Diuine, and Almighty worke of Kings, his administration of Iustice, appoynting certaine commissioners as Syndics to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grievously punishes the Scuries of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, hee keepes at *Windsor*, whither repaires vnto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately succeeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *David*, both to congratulate the King of *England* returne, and also continue his claime to those peeces in the North which hee pretended to be vniustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as hee had done his brother with faire words and tells him, *How it was not in his power, to doe any thing therein, without the consent of the State in Parliament; which if hee would attend, there should bee that course taken, as hee hoped might giue him satisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predecessor had done.

The Pope
writes to the
Bishops of
England.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the clowde hangs still ouer him, dayly threatening the great thunder-bolt. Although it seeme the Pope of himselfe, was not verie forward to proceede to that extremity, but would gladly haue quieted the Archbishoppe otherwise; *Who* (he sayd) *had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble:* and therefore writes hee his letters to the Bishops of *London*, and *Hereford* willing them to deale effectually with the King, and so to admonish him to desist from intruding vpon the liberties of the Church, and so restore the Archbishop to his Sea and Dignity.

The Bishops
answere to the
Popes Letter.

The Bishops wisely answeere the Popes Letter, in substance thus: *Wee haue (sayd they) done your Holinesse message, and as much as was decent for the Maiestie of a King, instantly urged him to satisfie your desire, made by vs: and if hee had*
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erred from the way of truth and Iustice; that hee would not delay to returne therunto: that hee would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of Rome, hinder Appeales, oppresse Churches and Churchmen, or suffer others so to doe: that he would call home our Father the Archbishoppe, &c. and persist in the workes of Pietie; that hee by whom Kings reigne might preferue unto him his temporall Kingdome, and giue him an eternall in Heauen: and that vnesse hee would yeelde to your Holy admonitions, you, who had hitherto endured, could in patience forbear no longer. Besides, we added this of our selues, how it was to be feared, if hee amended not his errours, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor yet prosper.

The King receiued your admonitions with manie thanks, much Temperance and Modestie, and answeres to euery point. First hee protested that in no sort he auerted his minde from your Holinesse, nor ever purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, hee would loue you as a Father; reuerence, and cherish the Church as his Mother. And humbly obey your sacred Decrees, sauing his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome: and if of late he hath not respected you with any reuerence, the cause was that, hauing with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessitie, hee was not answered worthily to his deserts upon his recourse to you by his Ambassadors, but in euery petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your Holinesse, hee answeres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.

But for Appeales, by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, Hee challenges that honour, and cumber to himselfe: that no Clergie man for any ciuill cause shall goe out of the Land till hee hath tried, whether hee may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth preiudice Your Honour, hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall be ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Schismaticke, hee neuer vnderstood hee was excommunicate. But if hee be by vs informed thereof, or hath entred unlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of Canterbury (hee sayth) that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: provided, that his Maiestie might be satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and haue him to obserue his Royall Dignity. And if it can be proued, that any Church, or Churchman, hath bene oppressed by the King or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell of the Church of his Kingdome.

This (say they) wee haue receiued in answer from our Lord the King, and wish wee could haue had it fully according to your desire: but these things we thought good to notifie to your Highnesse, that your Discretion may perceiue what is like to be the conclusion of this businessse. The King stands upon the iustification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of England. Whereupon wee thought good to beseech your Highnesse, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the diuine Spirit, is worthy inkindled, to reuenge any iniury done to the Church of God) and forbear to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last iudgement of absconsion, whereby innumerable Churches may be miserably subuerbed, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irrenouably (which God forbid) auerted from your obedience.

Then they tell him, That better it were to haue a member bad, then cut off: absconsion brought desperation: a skilfull Chirurgeon might recover an infected part, and how it were fitter to imploy meanes to heale the wound, then by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more disturbance to the same that hath too much already. Though the King were stiffe, they ought not despaire of the grace of God; that a Kings stomacke was then to be wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not blush to yeelde, when he had overcome: Patience, and Meekenesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, wee speake foolishly (say they) but yet with all Charitie: if it come to passe that the Lord of Canterbury loose both his goods; and liue besides in perpetuall

exile; and England (which God forbid) fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbear for a time, then with such a sale of severing to foster up a party? what if persecution cannot separate many of us from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to Baal, and receive the Pall of Canterbury at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion, or Iustice: neither will there was want suppliers of our Chayres that will obey him with all deuotion, and already many denounce these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight waies bee made crooked.

Thus much out of their letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew vs more of the inside of affaires, then any relations elc. And by this wee truly see what barres kept these two mighty powers back from their wills, and yet how lowde they threaten, and both asfeard of each other.

But the King of England stood safe ynough, and was like to haue his businesse runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer then fast, hee layes open a way both to disioynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with diuision; which was by the association of his sonne Henry in the gouernment, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, conuoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the Cōmon wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the loue he bare his sonne, as he would not bee denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to haue twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, and to haue designed, vnlesse he were Crowned King, as he was, with all vsuall solemnities the 14 day of Iune 1170. by Roger Archbishop of Yorke, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of Scots, David his brother, and all the Nobility of England. But now with what reseruations this was done, we are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title: and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to haue the especiall manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited power. Howsoeuer, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to bee made ouer in trust*, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vpon his Fathers forwardnesse.

What moued the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Graue) may be deemed, the iealousie he had apprehended by his Mothers example, who for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergie; and now considering in what termes hee stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops vnto him, was sure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if him selfe should faile, made him ouer-doe his worke.

The King of France, vnderstanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatens King Henry the Father with warre, if it were not presently done; which causes him to make more haste backe againe into Normandie (leauing the yong King in England) to satisfie or preuent this quarreling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had beene now fixe yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and diuers great Bishops; which the King of England was the more willing to accept, in regard hee saw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall businesse whensoeuer they should breake out: and how the Archbishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian world against him: which, *How much such a party as wayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a ruler of bodies*, was to bee considered. And therefore descends he from the high of his will to his necessity, and they meete at Montmiriall before the king of France; where the Archbishop kneeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the king of England, sayd, *Hee would commit the whole cause in controuersie to his Royall Order, Gods honour only reserued.*

Prince Henry,
crowned King.

1170.
Anno
Reg. 10.

Becketts submissi-
on to the
King.

The King (who had beene often vsed to that reseruatiō) grew into some choiler, and sayd to the King of France, and the rest, *What sooner displeaseth this man, he would haue to be against Gods honour, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to mee: But because, you shall not thinke me to goe about to resist Gods honour and him, in what shall befit, looke what the greatest & most Holy of all his Predecessors haue done to the meanest of mine, let him doe the same to me, and it shall suffice.* Which answer being, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of France, sayd to the Archbishop, *Will you be greater then Saints? better than Saint Peter? what can you stand vpon? I see it is your fault, if your peace bee not made.* The Archbishop replied to this effect: *That as the authoriety of Kings had their beginning by Degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the providence of God, come to that Estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers (sayd he) suffred all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans fauour lining, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The Kings offer to Becket.

Beckets reply.

This haughty reply of a subiect to so yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, so much distasteth the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceed from obstinacy then zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake vp. But after this, were many other meetings and much debate about the businesse. And the King of France (at whose charge lay the Archbishop all this while) came to another conference with them, vpon the Confines of Normandy: Where, the King of England tooke the Archbishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbishops bridell, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any. In the end by mediation of the Archbishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon Henry the father, writes to Henry the son, being then in England, in this wise: *Know yee that Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that hee and all his, haue peace: and that you cause to be restored vnto him and to all such (as for him) went out of England, all their substances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three monethes before their going, &c.* And thus by this letter we see, in which King, the command lay.

The King and Becket accorded.

The Archbishop returning into England (not as one who had sought his peace, but enforced it) with larger power to his resolution then before, *Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Archbishop of Yorke from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Prouince of Canterbury, without his leaue, and against the Popes commendement: and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautionary Oath, for conservation of the liberties of the Church.* He brought also other letters to suspend in like manner, *The Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, and Landaff, for doing service at the Coronation, and upholding the Kings cause against him.* And by these Letters were they all to remaine suspended, till they had satisfied the Archbishop in so much as he thought fit.

Becket returns into England.

Thus to returne home, shewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntied, which so terrified the bishops that presently (hauing no other refuge) they repaire to the King in Normandy, and shew him this violent proceeding of the Archbishop, *How since his returne hee was growne so imperious as there was no lining vnder him.* Where with the King was so much moued, as hee is sayd in extreame passion to haue vttered these words; *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely Priest? is there no man will ridde mee of this trouble.* Whereupon (they repore) foure Knights, Sir Hugh Mornille, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittain, and Sir Raynold Fitz Vrs (then attending vpon the King, and getting his desire by his words) depart presently into England, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the same; but by some it seemes rather, these foure gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Archbishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function*

The murthe-
ring of Becket.

function: and shrdly, to beare himselfe with more moderation in his place, whereby the Church might haue comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.

But they finding the Arch-bishop not answering their humor, but peremptory, & vntractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, & first from threatening force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armor (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-bishop was with-drawn, the Monks at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traitor, and furiously reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood besprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passionate committing the cause of the Church, with his soule to God, and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner, and all aggrauates the hatred of the deed, and makes compassion, and opinion, to be on his side.

The Murthe-
rers miserable
ende.

The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great seruice, rifled the Arch-bishops house; and after waighing the foulness of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselues into the North parts; and from thence pursued, fled into feuerall Countreys, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) died miserable Fugitiues.

The King of
France in-
forms the
Pope of Be-
kets murder.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Christian world, euery pen that had passion, was presently set on worke. The King of France (himselfe) informs the Pope of the whole manner; with aggratation of the foulness thereof, and incites him to vse the most exquisit punishment he could, *To vnsheath Peters sword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose blood cries out for all the Church, and whose diuine glory was already reuealed in miracles.*

The Earle of
Bloys infor-
mes likewise.

Theobald Earle of Bloys, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King Stephen) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him, *how hee was at the peace-making betweene the King of England and this blessed Martyr: and with what a cheerefull countenance, with what willingness the king confirmed the agreement, granting him power to vse his authority as it should please the Pope & him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right, & dignity of the Church of Canterbury, presumed to intrude the new King into the Royall throne. And this he would iustifie by his Oath, or howsoener: and in this peace (saith he) the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke vnder the sword: this innocent lambe the morrow vpon Saint Innocents day, suffered Martyrdom: the iust blood was shed, where the shot of our saluation, the blood of Christ is offered. And then: how Court dogges, the Kings familiars and domesticks, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewise of reuenge.*

The Arch-bi-
shop of Sens
writes to the
Pope.

But William Arch-bishop of Sens comes with a more maine outcry, as if hee would wake the Pope, were he neuer so dead asleepe: and tels him, *how hee was appointed ouer Nations, and Kingdoms, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of iron: that all power both in Heauen and Earth was giuen to his Apostleship: bids him looke how the Bore of the wood had rooted vp the Vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, &c. and all, in that most powerfull pbrase of holy writ. And after, hauing bitterly inueyed against the King, vses these words: It imports you, O most milde keeper of the walles of Ierusalem, to reuenge that which is past, and provide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyranny shall imbrow the Sancta Sanctorum with blood, and teare in peeces the Vicegerents of Christ, the softer children of the Church, without punishment? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiasticall power you may, &c.*

The King de-
clares his in-
nocency by
Emballage to
the Pope.
Pope, & Car-
dinals denied
audience, re-
fused confe-
rence.

Such and so great was the vpror of the Church, raised vpon these motiues, as notwithstanding the King of England (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) employed the most especjall men could be chozen in all his Dominions, *for reputation, learning, and iudgement, so declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vowe and protest that he was so farre from willing such a deed to be done, as he was from doing it himselfe, & how grievously he tooke the matter when he heard thereof; yet so deepe was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denied Audience to his Ambassadors, but euery Cardinal, and all other his Ministers, refused to haue any conference*

ference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them, Yet for all this were there those braue Spirits among them (as great Princes haue alwaies great Ministers) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleere their maisters honour, by Apologies, remonstrances, and all whatsoeuer wit could deuise: and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were euery day threatened and expected. And hauing (by grauely vrging the mischiefs, might follow in the Church; if a King of so great a State, and stomacke, should bee driuen to take desperate courses) giuen some pawse, and allay to the first heare; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Sommer; when, although they could giue the King no great security, yet they aduertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinals à Latere; *Gratianus* and *Vinianus* downe into *Normandy*, did exceedingly vex him. For they were rough against him, and would haue interdicted him, and his Dominions: but being forewarned of their coming and intention, hee appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandie*, into *England*, hee giues strict commandement, That no brieue-carrier of what condition or order soeuer, without giuing good security for his behauiour to the King, and Kingdome, bee suffered to passe the Seas.

Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the aduancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shew his power and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into *Ireland* (hauing commanded a Naue of foure hundred shippes to bee ready at *Milford Haven* for the transportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and sets forth in the beginning of *November*, an vnseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the inuasion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, hauing had an intention thereof, euer since the second yeare of his reigne, in which hee sent a *solemne Ambassage* to Pope *Adrian* the fourth, to craue leave for the subduement of that Countrey, vnder pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the sayth and way of trush. Which the Pope willingly granted, and returns the Ambassadors, with an autenticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. *First shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on Earth, and heape vpreward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the vertue of the Christian faith, and ciuilitie. And then giues him power to inuade the same, and to execute whatsoeuer should be to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reservation of Church-rights, and Peeter-pence (a penny of euery house yearely which he had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concludes with an exhortation to plant men of good and exemplar life in the Clergie, &c.*

But the King at that time, hauing other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to be againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murryh* one of the five Kings which then ruled that Island, comes vnto him into *Aquitaine* to craue his ayde against *Rodoricke* the Great, called *O Conor Dun*, King of *Connaught* who, contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole, had chased him out of his Dominion of *Lemster*.

The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention; that might yeeld passage of it selfe without being broken vp) intertaines this elected King with promises of ayde: and though he could not as then furnish him, being ingaged in other great affaires, he yet permits such of his subiects as would, to aduventure their fortunes with him. But the occasion of dissention betweene these two Irish Kings was indeed fowle on the part of *Dermot*, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of *Rodoricke*, and for that odious injury, with his iniustice to his people (the common causes of ruining and transferring Kingdomes) hee was by strong hand chased out of his Dominion of *Lemster*; and thereupon makes out for forraigne aide. And (hauing thus delt with the King of *England*) he betakes him into *Wales*, where first he wrought one *Robert Fitz*

The Conquest
of Ireland

Dermot com-
plains against
O Conor to
King *Henry*.

Dermots offen-
ces.

The conquest
of Ireland.

Triginta Milli.
libus.

The begin-
ning of May.

1170.

Anno
Reg. 16.

1171.

Anno
Reg. 17.

1172.

Anno
Reg. 18.

Fits Stephen, a man of a desperate fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him: and afterward *Richard* (of the house of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate in *Monmouth shire*) Earle of *Chepstow*, or *Strigil*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed, and of great possessions both in *England*, and *Normandie*, which gaue him meanes for his entertainements. *Fits Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards: The Earle, of marriage with *Eua* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the succession of the Kingdome of *Lemster*.

Fits Stephen with *Maurice Fits Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed ouer first with a small company, and landed at the place called by the *Irish* *Bagg-bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof this time retaines yet the memory, *At the head of Bagge and Bun*, Ireland was lost and wonne. And the next day after arrived at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at armes, and many Archers in two ships, parcell of *Fits Stephens* forces which from thence marched to the City of *Weisford*, with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the *Irish* vnacquainted with so vnsuall a face of warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themselves to their mercy with their City of *Weisford*, which with the Countrey about was giuen by *Dermot* to *Robert Fits Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the *English*, which euer since hath continued, retaining still in a sort our ancient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name, *Weisford speech*.

The next yeare are new supplies sent out of *Wales*, and after, vpon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of *Pembroke* arriues in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at armes and a thousand other souldiers, takes the towne, which was then called *Porshlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the sword (to giue terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* giues him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey, which, after his wickednesse had vndone, hee liued not to see more yeares (hauing had too many by this) and dies miserably, leauing the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies) *the strangers friend*, added to his name in memory of his vnnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

Strongbow, after hauing secured the places gotten, marches with those small forces he had ouer the Island without resistance. *Redoricke* the Great (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesse of *Connanght*, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the Countrey at his pleasure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants to secure their obedience, and with as little labour possesse himselfe of the Citie of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus *Wales* got vs first the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without stroke of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrey so populous, a Nation of that disposition, should not lift vp a hand to defend it selfe. hauing, it seemes, either neglected the vse of Armes, or else neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domesticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange, and neuer before scene forces in order of warre, layd them prostrate to the mercy of the *Ouer-runner*.

But the King of *England* aduertised of the prosperous successe of these Aduenturers and the estate of the Countrey grew in ieaousie of them, thinking they presumed farther then their subiection would allow, and would make themselves that which they must be made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that should bee only his; causes proclamation to be made: *That no vessell should carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and that all his subiects should returne from thence, and leaue off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit their Estates at home.* And withall sends ouer *William Fitz Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz Bernard* with some forces to prepare the way for him who followed shortly after, and lands eight miles from *Waterford* the Eue of *Saiat Luke* Anno 1172. being the third yeare after the first Inuasion made by *Fitz Stephen*.

At his first landing, a white Hart starting out of a bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a preface of a white victory. The next day he marches to Waterford where he staid fifteen dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of *Corke, Limrick, Oxery, Meth*, and all of any power in *Ireland* (except *Rodericke* King of *Connaught*, who still kept himselfe in the fastnesse of his Countrey) and submitted themselves with all the Clergie, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the young King, and their Successors for ever; so these deuident Princes holding no common Councell for the publique safety: rather then to ioyne those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselves, and with the same emulation they had in libertie, stroue for their seruitude who should be first to receive a forraigne maister.

The Irish Kings
submission.

From *Waterford* the King goes to *Dublin*, where, hee holds an Assembly of all these subiect Kings, with the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall of *Ireland*, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee causes the Bishops with the Clergie there to assemble at *Cassell*, and appoints an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of *Landaffe* to be assistants and aduisors vnto them for reformation of Church-businesse, which seemes to haue bene as disordred as the people. For though the Irish had bene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion, and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to do a worke pleasing to the present, it was decreed, That all Church-lands should be free from the exaction of secular men: and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things should be ordered, and vsed in euery part of *Ireland* according to the manner of the Church of England, being fit (as saith the Cannon) that as *Ireland* hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord and King out of England, so from thence they should receive a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vsed.

Henries reformation of
Ireland.

His Christmasse hee keeps at *Dublin*, where he royally feasts all his Kings & great men of the Countrey; the rest of his being there hee employes in fortifying and planting Garrisons where most need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Iustice of all *Ireland*, giues him the keeping of *Dublin*, and besides confirmed vnto him and his heires, by his Charter, the Countrey of *Meth* to hold the same in Fee, for the seruice of a hundreth Knights: he bestowes on *Robert Fitz Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of *Waterford* and *Weisford* (which he tooke from *Fitz Stephen* the first inuador) with charge to build Castles in them: and to humble the Earle *Strongbow*, and leuell him with the rest of his subiects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a Kingdome, which though thus easily won, it proued more difficult, and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosecution of a full establishment thereof was neither by him or his successors (hauing other diuertments) euer thoroughly accomplished.

On *Easter* monday he sets out for *England*, where he makes no stay, but takes the young King along in his company, and passes ouer into *Normandy* to meete other two Legates (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) who were sent from Pope *Alexander* (but in milder fashion then the last) to examine the murther of the late Arch-bishop *Becket*. Foure moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Euangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of King *Henry* the son, the Arch-bishop of *Reuen*, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of *Normandy* in the City of *Auranches* purged himselfe, of either commanding, or consenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might be moued thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath; that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: First, neuer to forsake Pope *Alexander*, nor his Catholicke Successors, so long as they vsed him as a Catholicke King. Secondly, That Appeals should freely be made to the Pope, in causes Ecclesiasticall. Prouided, that if any were suspected, to worke euill to him, or his Kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. Thirdly, That he would (from Christmas next for three yeares to come) undertake the Grosse, and the Sommer following, in person go to *Ierusalem*, unlesse he were stayed by the Pope, or his Successors, or imployde against the Sarasins in *Spaine*. Fourthly, That in the meane time, he should deliuer so much money

His purgation
for *Becket*'s
murther.

Both Kings
swear to these
Articles.

Henry the
sonne is again
crowned with
Margaret his
wife.

Vide Append.

1173.
Anno
Reg 19.

The homage
of Raymond
Earle of Saint
Gyles for the
Earld. of Tho-
loufe.

Henry the son
takes displea-
sure against
his father.

money into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine two hundredth souldiers in the Holy warre for one year. Fifty, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Arch-bishop. Sixty, Restore his possessions. Sementhly, and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had bene introduced to the preiudice of the Church. After himselfe had sworne, hee caused King Henry his sonne to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, hee caused his Seale to be set vnto them, with that of the two Cardinals. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the world, then any he had, and bowed him more: beeing his ill fortune, to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world; set vp his rest, not to yeeld to a King; was onely ingaged to his cause; had opinion, and beliefe, to take his part: Which so much preuailed, as the King seeking to maister him, aduanced him; and now is hee faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and ha- uing had him aboute his will, whilest he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith, being dead. And yet 48. yeares after this, saith the French History, it was disputed among the Doctors of Paris, whether he were damned or faued: And one Roger a Norman maintained, he had iustly deserued death, for rebelling against his Soueraigne, the Minister of God.

To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, and content the King of France; Henry the son is againe Crowned, and with him Margaret his wife, with permission shortly after, to goe visite Paris; where, this young King, apt inough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, receiued those instructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceiue, *How to be a King, was to be a power above, and vnderstandable.*

And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion. The Father euer awake to aduance his greatnesse, takes a iourney in person into *Amergnia*, and so to *Monferrato*; and there purchases a match for the price of fūe thousand Markes, for his yongest sonne *Iohn*, with *Alice* the eldest daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Mauriena* (then as it seemes) Lord of *Piemont* and *Sanoy*, with condition to haue with her the inheritance of all those Countreys, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in *Roger Houeden*, with all the circumstances, and couenants, very remarkeable, of the contract. So vnto greatnesse (that easier increases then begins) is added more meanes, and euery way opens to this actiue, and powerfull King aduantages of State, in so much, as the King of France was euen surrownded with the power, and dependances of this mightie King of England, whose fortunes most of all the neighbour Princes (which subsist by other, then their owne power) now follow. And being returned from cōcluding this March in *Piemont*, there comes vnto him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of Saint Gyles (by whom was giuen the first affront he had in France) now to doe homage vnto him for the Earledome of *Tholoufe*: and there became the man of the King of England, and of his sonne *Richard* Earle of *Penſon*, to hold *Tholoufe* from them (by hereditary right) for seruice of comming vnto them vpon their sommons, and re- mayning in their seruice fortie dayes at his owne charge: and if they would entertaine him longer, to allow him reasonable expenses. Besides, the Earle should pay yearly, for *Tholoufe*, and the appertinances, a hundred markes of siluer, or ten Horses, worth ten Markes a peece.

About the same time also came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges* (to know what Land the King of England would assure his son *Iohn*) who resolued to giue vnto him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirabell*. Wherewith King Henry the son grew much displeased, and here moued his Father, either to resigne vnto him, the Dutchie of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Anion*, or the Kingdome of England for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more eger being incensed by the King of France, and the discontented Lords, both of England, and Normandie, who were many, and false, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the aduantage of a deuided Souerainty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the

the Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first bee taken (may seeme to bee the worke of Gods especiall iudgement) being those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne brother *Geffrey*, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father as is before related: so (as if to tell iniustice, that it must bee duly repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischief vpon him, and to giue a beginning to the fowlest discorde that could bee: wherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne bodie, but the Wife of his bedde to conspire, and practise against him.

For, hereupon the son sodainely breaking away from the Father came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to preuent the ouergrowing of a neighbour but to deuide him; sommons and solicates the Princes of *France*, and all the friends he could make, to ayde King *Henry* the son against the father, and to take their Oath, either to dispossesse him of his Estate, or bring him to their owne conditions. The young King likewise sweates vnto them, *Never to haue peace with his father without their consents, and all sweares to giue vnto Philip Earle of Flanders, for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the Countie of Kent, Douer, and Rochester Castles: To Matheu Earle of Bologne brother to the sayd Earle for his seruice, Kerton Soak in Lindsey, the Earldome of Morton with the Honour of Heize: To Theobald Earle of Blois two hundred pounds by yeare in Aniou: the Castle of Amboys with all the right he pretended in Turcine &c.* And all these Donations with diuers other, he confirmed by his new Seale, which the King of *France* caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, *He confirmed to the King of Scots, for his ayde, all Northumberland vnto Tyne: and gaue to the brother of the same King, for his seruice, the Earldomes of Huntingdon, and Cambridge. To the Earle Hugh Bigot the Castle of Norwich: other Earles of England, as Robert Earle of Leicester, Hugh Earle of Chetter, Roger Mowbray &c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the Lions Skin, that was yet alive.*

Besides, they draw into their partie *Richard*, and *Geffrey*: whose youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increafe of their allowance) are easily intised; and with them their mother inraged with iealousie, and disdain for her husbands conceiued abuses of her bed. So that, this great King in the middelt of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, comes sodainely forsaken of his owne people, and is driuen through distrust to hire, and entertaine strange forces; procuring twenty thousand *Brabansons* (which were certaine Mercenaries commonly called the *Routs* or *Costerels*) for the recouery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers hee had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him: as *William Earle Mandenile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, &c.*

But howsoeuer we haue seene the best of this Kings glory; and though he had after this, good successes, hee had neuer happinesse: labour hee did, by all meanes to haue qualified the heate of his distempered son, by many mediations of peace: offering all conuenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not preuaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of *France* with all his forces enters vpon his territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* seizes vpon *Northumberland*; and makes great spoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courses of his son, and of his owne improuident aduancing him. *William King of Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* besieges *Vernoul* a place of great strength, and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the towne (viſtualls fayling) obtained truce of the King of *France* and permission to send vnto their Soueraigne for succour, *Which if it came not within three daies, they would render the City, and in the meane time their hostages.* The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint *Lanurence*. The King of *France* with King *Henry* the son, and with diuers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendred the City at the day appointed, their hostages should bee redeliuered, and no dammage done to the Cittie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces he could make came iust at the limited day; dispoles his Army to strike battaile with his enemies; but the King of *France* to auoide the same, sends the Archbishoppe of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Blois* to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow: this day lost, lost *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow Parle, the King of *France* neither comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, he sackes, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof: remoues his Campe, and leaues the King of *England* disappointed; who that night, after hauing persued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into *Vernoul*, and the morrow surprises *Dannile* a Castle of his enemies, with many prisoners. Thence he goes to *Romen*, whence, hee sent his *Brabançons* into *Brittaine* against *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ralph* *Fulgiers*, who had posselt themselues almost of the whole Country; but being not able to resist the Kings forces in the field, they with all the great men in those parts, and thae side of *France* recouered the Castle of *Dole*; where, they fortified and kept themselues, till King *Henry* the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it: and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the rest of the Countrey yelded themselues.

This ouerthrow being of such import, so terrified the aduersaries, as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene *Gisors* and *Try*, wherein the King of *England* (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his son of *halfe the reuenues of the Crowne of England*, with *fourre conuenient Castles* therein; or if hee had rather remaine in *Normandy*, *halfe the reuenues ibereof*, and *all the reuenues of the Earledome of Aniou &c.* To his son *Richard* hee offers *halfe the reuenues of Aquitaine*, and *fourre Castles in the same*. To *Geffrey*, the Land that should come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle *Conon*. Besides, hee submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Archbishop of *Tarento*, and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgements should be held fit, reseruing vnto himselfe his Iustice and royall power: which yelding grants, shewed how much he desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of *France*, that the same should take effect: for such peruerfnesse and indignitie was offered to King *Henry* in this Treaty, as *Robert* Earle of *Leicester* is sayd to haue reproched him to his face, and offered to draw his sword vpon him; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene *Curteles*, and *Gisors*, but the *French* had the worfe.

The Earle of *Leicester* with an Army makes ouer into *England*, is receiued by *Hugh Bigot* into the Castle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* chiefe Iustice of *England*, and *Humphrey Bohun* the Kings Constable, being vpon the borders of *Scotland*, hearing thereof, make truce with the King of *Scots*. And haste to *Saint Edmondsburie* where the Earles of *Cornwall*, *Glocester*, and *Arundell* ioyne with them; they encounter the Earle of *Leicester*, at a place called *Farnham*, ouerthrew his Army, slue tenne thousand *Flemings*; tooke him, his Wife, and diuers great prisoners, which were sent vnto the King in *Normandie*; who, with his Army was not there idle, but dayly got Castles, and Forts from his Enemies, vntill Winter constrained both Kings to take truce till *Easter* following: and the like did the Bishop of *Duresme* with the King of *Scots*, for which he gaue him three thousand Markes of siluer, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King *Henry* the Sonne, and *Philippe* Earle of *Flaunders*, are readie at *Graveling* with a great Armie for *England*. The King of *Scots* is entred *Northumberland*, and sends his brother *David* with a power to succour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of *Leicester*, which held the Towne of *Leicester*, but without successe: for *Richard Lucy*, and the Earle of *Cornwall* had before rased the City, and taken *Robert Monbray*, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

King *Henry* the Father vpon his Sonnes preparation for *England*, drawes his forces from his other employments, and brings them downe to *Barbfleet*, arriues at *Southampton* with

1174.
Anno
Reg. 20.

Henry the fathers arriual in England.

with his prisoners, *Queene Elionor, Margueret* the wife of his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Chester*, and from thence goes to *Canterbury* to visit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyre, and performe his vowes for his victories. And they write how coming within sight of the Church, *Hee alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloudie tokens of his deuotion on the way.* And as, if to recompence (the merit of this worke) they note, *How the verie day when hee departed from Canterbury, the King of Scots to bee ouerthrowne and taken at Alnwick*, by the forces of the Knights of *Yorkshire*, which are named to bee: *Robert de Stuteuile, Odanel de Humfreuile, William de Vescy, Ralph de Glanville, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol.*

King Henry visits Becket's Sepulcher.

Lewis King of *France*, hearing of King *Henries* passage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, calls backe *Henry* the son, and the Earle of *Flanders* from *Grauelin*, where, they stayed expecting the winde, and besieged *Roan* on all sides sauing that of the Riuer. The whilst King *Henry* is quieting and settling the State of *England*, where hee had first the Castle of *Huntingdon* rendred vnto his mercie, sauing the liues, and members of the defendants: then the Castles of *Fremmingham* and *Bungaie* which the Earle of *Bigot* helde by force of *Flemings*, for whom (the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon) but in the ende they were sent home. From thence hee goes to *Northampton*: where, hee receiues the King of *Scots* his prisoner, and the Castles of *Duresme, Norham, and Alnerton* rendred into his hands by the Bishoppe of *Duresme*; who, for all his seruice done in the North, stood not cleere in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither *Roger de Mowbray* yeelding vp himselfe with his Castle of *Treske*: the Earle *Ferrers* his Castles of *Tutbury* and *Duffield*: *Anketill, Mallory, and William Dine*, Constables of the Earle of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester, Montforill, and Groby*; so that within three weekes, all *England* was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly daies seemed only referred for the field.

The King of Scots his prisoner.

This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen; King *Henry* with his prisoners, the King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, passies ouer into *Normandy*, to the releefe of *Roan*: where those thousand Welshmen sent ouer the riuer *Siene*, entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of *France*; slue a hundred of his men, and recovered a wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of *England* (causing the gates of the Citie, to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the *French* Campe and the Citie, to be filled vp againe, with rubbish and timber) marched forth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any answer at all. In the end the King of *France*, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, vpon sufferance of the King of *England* by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Blois*, who vndertooke that he should the next day come to a parle of peace, which hee performed not.

King Henry fauours the French army.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so little aduantaged either him, or those for whom hee pretended to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of *England*: and peace with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his sons. But with more reservation on his part, then had bene by the former treatie offered, as hauing now, more of power, and the aduantage of fortune: and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, *the goodnesse of his Nature was not ouer-swayed by his ambition*; all his proceeding in this warre witnessing, that necessity did euer worke more then his will.

The King and his sonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes. Rog. Houen.

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne *Henry* would haue done him homage (which is personall seruice) he refused to take it, because hee was a King, but receiued it of *Richard*, and *Geffrey*. Yet after this, *Henry* the son to free his father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore Fealty vnto him against all men in the presence of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandevile*, and a great Nobility.

Vide Append.

At the concluding of this Peace, the Earle of *Flanders* yeelded vp to King *Henry*

Henry the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the Son for his remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension hee had yearely out of *England* before this war, which was *one thousand Markes out of the Exchequer*, afterward granted vpon condition of *Homage*, and for finding the King of *England* yearely *five hundred souldiers for the space of fortie daies vpon summons giuen*.

This businesse ended, the Father and Sonne make their Progresses into all their Prouinces on that side, to visit and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their affaires there. *Richard* is sent into *Aquitaine*: and *Geffrey* into *Brittaine*, vpon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsellors to looke to their owne.

1175.

Anno
Reg. 21.

Vide Append.

All Vacancies
supplied by
the King.

The two Kings, Father and Son shortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Government needed as much as in *France*: and here had the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* sommoned a Councell of the Clergy, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all Vacancies, and giues to *John de Oxenford*, (that great Minister of his) the Bishopricke of *Norwich*: then takes hee into his hands all the Castles hee could seize on; amongst other the Tower of *Bristol*, which was rendred by the Earle of *Glocester* and was neuer in his hands before. He takes penalties both of *Clerkes* and *Lay-men*, who had trespassed his Forrests in time of Hostility: for which he is taxed of wrong, *Richard Lucy* Iustice of *England*, hauing warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeilded him made him take the stricter regard therein. For after the death of *Alain de Neuile* which had bene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of *England*, he diuides them into diuers parts, appointing to every part foure Iustices, whereof two to be Clerkes, and two, Knights, and two, Seruants of his Household, to be Keepers of the Game ouer all other Forresters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoever, and gave them power to implea, according to the Assise of the Forrest.

1176.

Anno
Reg. 22.

Vide Append.

The King being at *Yorke*, there came vnto him *William* King of *Scots*, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concord which had formerly bene, in the time of his imprisonment, at *Faleise* in *Normandy*: before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to be seene in *Roger Hoveden*.

After this, a Councell is called at *Windser*, whither repaire certaine Bishoppes of *Ireland*, and the Chauncelour of *Rodoric* King of *Conaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a tribute to be paide, which was, of every tenn Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Prouinces that held thereof.

The Kingdom
deuided into
sixe parts for
Iustice.

Vide Append.

Vide Append.

Within a while after, a Councell or Parliament is assembled at *Nottingham*, and by aduice and consent thereof, the King caused *The Kingdome* to be deuided into sixe parts, and constitutes for every part three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, faithfully for themselves to obserue, and cause inuiolably to be obserued of all his Subiectes of *England*, the Assises made at *Claringdone*, and renued at *Northampton*, which Assises were chiefly for *Murther, Theft, Robbery*, and their receiuers: for *deceits*, and *burning of Houses*, which facts if found by the Verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of *Water Ordeil*, whereby, if not acquitted, their punishment, was *losse of a legge*, or *banishment*, that Age seeming to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came not so far as blood, in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the reigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plummon* Knight, accused for a Rape, before *Rannulph de Glanville*, chiefe Iustice of *England* (desirous, sayth *Hoveden* by vniust sentence to condemne him) was adiudged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet; whereunto, when he was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *That an innocent and iust person ought not so to suffer*. *Balduin* Bishop of *Worcester*, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the iniury done to this miserable creature, came forth, and

and forbade them, from the part of the Omnipotent God, and under paine of Excommuni-
tion that they should not put him to death that day, being Holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary
Magdalene; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night
meanes was wrought to the King, who commanded a stay to bee made till other order
were taken, being informed that for the enuie which *Glanuile* bare to this *Plumton*, hee
was desirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of *Roger*
Gulwast an inheritor, whom hee would haue had *Reiner* his Shrieve of Yorke-
shire to haue had; which act leaues a foule staine of Iniustice vpon the memory of
this Chiefe Iustice *Glanuile*: in the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes,
and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed, which now passeth vnder
his name.

The charge giuen for businesse in these Assises consisted but of very few points
besides those felonies, and was especially for taking Homage, and Ligeance of all
the Subjects of England: demolishing of Castles, the Rights of the King, his Crowne and
Exchequer. The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out
of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in
the Cradle.

William King of Sicile sends and craues to haue *Ioan* the Kings daughter in mar-
riage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the vniuersall Councell of the
Kingdome graunted his daughter to the King of Sicile; to whom she was shortly after
sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and Castles, as may appeare by
the Charter of that King.

But the great Match that was provided for Earle *Iohn* became frustrate by the death
of *Alice*, daughter to the Earle of *Mauriana*, and he is married to the daughter of *Wil-*
liam Earle of *Glocester*, by whom he was to haue that Earldome. This *William* was son
to *Robert* brother to *Maude* the Emperesse.

The same yeare also hee marries *Elionor* another of his daughtes to *Alphonso*
King of *Castile*, and takes vp the controuersie betweene him, and his Vncle
Sanctio King of *Nauarre*, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces, of
each others Kingdome, both the Kings hauing referred the businesse to his arbi-
tration.

Likewise the marriage which should haue bene betweene his sonne *Richard*,
and *Alice* daughter to the French King (committed heretofore to his custodie)
was againe treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legat to bee consumma-
ted vpon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings
notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall League, and amitie to ayd each other
against all men, and to bee Enemies to each others Enemies. Besides, they both
vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in person, which they liued not to per-
forme.

The King of France vpon a dangerous sickenesse of his sonne *Philip*, vowes a
visitation of the Sepulcher of *Thomas* the Martyre of *Canterbury*: and vpon licence,
and safe conduct of the King of England, performes the same with great deuotion,
and Rich presents. First, offering vpon his Tombe, a massie Cup of Gold, and after
gane, and confirmed by his Charter 3000 sixe hundred Sextaries of wine for the Monkes, an-
nually to bee receiued at *Poissi*, at the charge of the King of France: and beside,
freed them from all Tolle, and Custome, for whatsoeuer they should buy in his
Kingdome.

After hauing stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards France, conduct-
ed by the King of England to Douer. The Son recouers health, but the Father lost
his in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Dense*, hee was taken with a Palsie, and liued
not long after. The weakenesse of his Age, and disease moued him presently to haue
his son *Philippe* (being but fiftene yeares of Age) to be crowned King in his life time,
which was done at *Reimes*, Anno 1179.

Henry Duke of *Saxonie* (who had married *Maude* daughter to King *Henry*) was ex-
pelled his Duchie, and banished by the Emperour *Frederic* the third for seuen yeares,

Vide Append.

1177.
Anno
Reg. 13.

William King
of Sicile
matches with
Ioan the Kings
Daughter.
Reg. Houed.
Vide Append.

1178.
Anno
Reg. 24.

A Sextarie is
eight English
quarts, and
36 Sextaries
is a Medius
of wine. Bud.

1179.
Anno
Reg. 25.
1180.

Anno
Reg. 26.

for detayning the reuenues which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of *Saxonie*; and refusing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his faith, and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driuen to come (for succour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into *England*. Where hee remained three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Archbishop of Cologne to visit the Sepulcher of *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchie: and a motion is made of marriage for *Richard* the Kings son, with the daughter of the Emperour *Frederic* (notwithstanding the contract made with *Alice* daughter to the King of *France* long before) but this last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours daughter.

King *Henry* sends his son *John* to reside in *Ireland*, to the end (that the Maiestie of a Court, and the number of attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and ciuillise that Countrey: but hee being accompanied with many gallants, young as himselfe, who scorning, and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits, and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings (*Limmeric*, *Conaet*, and *Corke*) into open act of rebellion: *Gens enim hac, sicut & natio quous barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorati tamen, supra modum affectant*, sayth *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

Now this faire time of peace, which King *Henry* enioyed gaue him leasure to seeke out all meanes to supply his coffers, wherein hee was very vigilant: and hearing of the great summes (which *Roger* Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, had given by his Testament to godly vses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seize the same to his owne vses, alledging, *That the Archbishop had given Iudgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (vnesse before he were sicke,)* and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commissioners hauing found out, that *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* had receiued of the Archbishop three hundred Markes of siluer to bee bestowed in those vses, demaund the same for the King. The Bishop replies, *That hauing receiued it from the hands of the Archbishoppe, he had according to his will, distributed the same amongst the Leprous, Blinde, and Lame; in repaying Churches, Bridges, and Hospitalls: so that who would haue it, must gather it vp againe of them.* Which answer so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing vpon the Castle of *Duresm*) hee wrought this Bishop much vexation.

His meanes certaine (besides the reuenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in *England*; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices vacant: as hee did the Bishopricke of *Lincolne* eightene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in *England*, which was round, decayed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ran-some for corrupting the olde money. And besides to saue his purse (in regard the continuall charge of Horse, and Armour was heauie vnto him,) hee caused euerie mans Lands, and substance to bee rated for the furnishing thereof. And first beganne the same, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: ordaining, *That whosoever had a hundred pounds Aniuin money in goods, and chattle, should finde a Horse, and all Militarie furniture thereunto: and whosoever had in chattle fortie, thirty, or twenty pounds Aniuin money, should finde a Corset, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrows,* with a strict prohibition, *That no man should sell, or pawning his Armour, but be bound to leaue it when he died, to his next heire.* And this Order afterward, he established in *England*, by consent of the State. The King of *France*, and the Earle of *Flaunders* by his example did the like in their Countreys.

Great, and manifold were the expences of this mightie King, in respect of his entertainments, pensions, and rewards, hauing so wide an Estate, and so many euer in his worke, both of his owne, and others who must alwayes be feed. And besides, oftentimes he is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his businesse with the King of *France*, to haue them fauourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswasions, and for his owne reputation, to the Holy warre.

The King
sends after
monies giuen
to pious vses
by Testators
of the Clergy.

The Vacancie
of *Lincolne*
held 18 yeares
to the Kings
vse.

Vide Append.

1181.

Anno.

Reg. 17.

Anno

Anno 1182 (saith *Walsingham*) hee relieued the necessity of the *Ierosolomitans*, with two and forty thousand Markes of siluer, and five hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, seven and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three poundes; sixe shillings eight pence. And when Pope *Lucius* distressed by the *Romans*, desired an ayde out of *England*, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Siluer; in leauying whereof, the Clergy here delt very circumspectly: for when the Popes *Nuncij* came to desire the same, they aduised the King; that according to his will, and honour, hee himselfe should supplie the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord, and King, should receiue from them, the returne of that ayde, then that the Popes *Nuncij* should; which might bee taken for a custome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and Son, when againe new flames of vnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can be discovered (in the vncertaine passages of that time) we finde to be this.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Christmas kept at *Cane* in *Normandy*, with his Sons *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*, the Duke of *Saxony* with his Wife and Children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King *Henry* his Son to take the Homages of his brother *Richard* Earle of *Poitou*, and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine*. *Richard* refuses to doe it (but vpon perswasion) beeing afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereupon with great indignation *Richard* departs from his Fathers Court into *Poitou*: mans, and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother follows by instigation of the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine* who were false from *Richard*, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderstood what would become of younger brothers estates in such Dominions, where the elder brothers birth-right, and power, would carry all) and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine* takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to aide him.

Richard sends for succour to his father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constraine them to a peace, then to make warre) came downe into *Poitou*, where againe his three Sons after the debatement of their grieuances swore to obey, and serue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselves. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete all at *Mirabel*, where *Henry* the Son, desires, that the Barons of *Poitou*, and *Aquitaine* (whom he had sworne to defend against his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the son notwithstanding, continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother *Richard* to receiue them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffrey*; is permitted by the Father to goe treat with them at *Limoges*, whither also, by another way, and with small company, it was agreed the Father should come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes, so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slaine; and himselfe with his son *Richard*, forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a fatherly affection to haue conference with his sons for the quiet ending of this business, (vpon their assurance of his safety) hee enters into the City: when againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breast, had not his horse by the suddaine lifting vp his head receiued it in the forehead. Which act his sonnes neuer sought to finde out and punish, but still, vnderhand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry* the sonne comes to the Father, and protests, that vnlesse the Barons would come and yeelde themselves at the Kings feete, he would vtterly renounce them: And after, hauing againe (vpon his fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding as hee auowed their obstinacy, made shew to forsake their party, and returnes to his Father with great submission, deliuering

1182.

Anno
Reg. 28.

Vide Append.
Henry 2. relieues Pope
Lucius and the
Ierosolomitans
with great
summes of
gold and siluer

1183.

Anno
Reg. 29.

Great festivals
oftentimes
breake vp with
great discontentments.

Henry and his
sonnes accorded.

The incon-
stancy of King
Henry the son.

His vow.

His resolution.

His request for
the Barons of
Aquitaine.

His death.

Earle Geffreyes
submission and
death.

1184.

Anno

Reg. 30.

Henry the se-
cond doth ho-
mage to Philip
King of Fran. e.

liuering vp vnto him his horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

But many dayes he spent not with him, when againe (either for the intended reuenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection hauing vndertaken, hee held himselfe in his honour, engaged to preferue: or by the working of some mutinous ministers about him, whose element was not peace: hee againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses; hee suddenly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, fallies prostrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes presently to takes vpon him the Crosse, and to giue ouer all worldly businesse beside.

With which strange and sudden passion, the Father much moued, besought his son with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation, or religion induced him thereunto. The Son protests, that it was merely for the remission of his sins, committed against his person. And vnlesse his Father would now giue him leaue (without which he could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The father (after hauing vsed all meanes to dissuade him, and finding him still obstinate) said vnto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours: for your furnishing I will take such order as shall besit your Estate.*

The son (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castle of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, so that, they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed content to doe. But vpon the deliery, and receiuing of these pledges, new ryots were committed by such as could not endure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified;) and these young Princes againe take part with their confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacriledge to supply their necessities, and feed their followers. And in the end the young King hauing much struggled in vaine, through grieve and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning feuer with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him, neither got hee so much by his Coronation, as to haue a name in the *Catalogue* of the Kings of *England*.

The sorrow of the father (although it be said to be great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, seized on their Castles, and rased to the ground that of *Lymoges*.

Geffrey vpon his submission, is receiued into grace, and the yeare after died at *Paris*: hauing (in a conflict) bene troden vnder horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was vnfortunate, he saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who suruiued him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

Now the young King of *France*, *Philip* the second (in whose fate it was, to doe more then euer his father could effect, vpon the death of *Henry* the son) requires the deliery of the Countrey of *Vexin*, which was giuen in dowre with his Sister *Margaret*, but the King of *England* (not apt to let goe any thing of what he had in possession) was content to pay yeerely to the *Queene Dowager*, 17050. pounds *Anioun*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, hee saw, grew great, and actiue, and with whom hee was like to haue much to doe, did homage vnto him, for all hee held in *France*, which he neuer did to the Father, being the first descent of Maiestie, hee euer made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer stood fast vnto King *Leues* the father. But now *Philip* the son otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demands the Countrey of *Vermendois*, as appertaining to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, vpon allegation of consanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, giuen vnto him by his Fathers

choice

choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champagne*, *Hainault*, *Namur*, *Saint Pol*, and others, warres vpon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his disaduantage. After this, the Kings of *England*, and *France*, meete betweene *Gisors*, and *Trie*; where the King of *England* sweares to deliuer *Alice*, vnto *Richard* his son. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in dowre, the Countrey of *Velxin*, which *Margueret* his other Sister had before.

But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they liued together in that amity, as one bed and boord is said to haue serued them, both which so eniclosed the old King, as he called home his son, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare vpon the Euangelists, to obserue fealty vnto him, against all persons whatsoeuer: which hauing done; and ready to passe ouer into *England*, hee is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gaue out that hee would spoyle, and rancke both *Normandy*, and the rest of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; vnlesse he would presently deliuer vp his sister *Alice* vnto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Countrey of *Velxin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Trie*. Where, the Archbishop of *Tyre* (sent from the East to call vp ayde for the Holy warre) did with that power of perswasion so vrge his message, as it let out all the humor of priuate rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsels, their pretensions, their designs: turned them wholly to vndertake in person this laborious action, and resolute to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distemperatures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishments for this businesse.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all stroue which should bee most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse: *France* a red: and *Flanders* a Greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious letter: in the end whereof he hath these words, *Amongst other Princes, I and my Son, reiecting the glory of this world, and despising all the pleasures thereof, in proper person, with all our strength, will, God willing, visite you shortly,*

Then to raise money to defray this great enterprize, it was ordained by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and others in *France*, that all whosoever, as well Clerke as Lay (sauiug such as went the voyage) should pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeere, and the tenth of all their Moueables and Chattles; as well in gold as siluer. And many excellent orders were made for restraint of licentiousnesse both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the vndertakers of so ciuill and deuout an action.

The King of *England* hauing layde this imposition vpon all his Dominions in *France*, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barons, both of the Clergy, and Laity at *Gayntington*, and by their consents imposes the same taxation vpon his Subiects of *England*. *Sub Eleemosine titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, sayth *Walsingham*, and presently sends forth his Officers into euery Shire to collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of euery City in *England*, hee caused a choyce to be made of the richest men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Torke* a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest: and caused all these, at a certaine time and place to appeare before him; of whom he tooke the tenth of all their Moueables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused hee imprisoned till they had payde it, of which example and exaction, wee must onely hold Piety guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, with other Commissioners, to
William

The Earle of *Flanders* compels the King of *France* to compound.

1185.
Anno
Reg. 31.

The Kings of *England* and *France* accorded, and prepared for the holy warre.

1186.
Anno
Reg. 33.

Provision by
King Henry in
England.

1187.
Anno
Reg. 33.

A meane quarrell dashes and diuerts the great preparation for the holy warre, and layes it vpon the selfe kingdomes.

1188.
Anno
Reg. 34.

The King of
France cuts
downe the
most eminent
Elme of Prince
ly parley.

Earle Richard
(with the King
of France) com-
bine against
his father King
Henry 2.

1198.
Anno
Reg. 35.

William King of Scots to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which hee would not permit, but offered to giue the King of *England* five thousand Markes of siluer for those tenthes, and the Castle which he claimed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the money collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard Earle of Poitou*, and *Raymond Earle of Tholouse*, vpon this occasion. The Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Snillar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and vsed them hardly. The Earle of *Poitou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen seruants of the King of *England*, *Robert*, and *Ralph Poer*, trauellling through his Countrey (as Pilgrimes) from *S. Iames de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act) wastes it with fire and sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (vpon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholousians*) sends to the King of *England* to vnderstand, whether his son *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answers, *That he neither willed nor counselled him therunto, and that his sonne sent him word (by the Archbishop of Dublin) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of France.* Who (not satisfied with this answer) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seizes vpon the Countrey; takes in diuers Castles of the King of *England*, who makes himselfe ready to recouer the same. And thus that great intended enterprife, vndertaken with such seruor, became dashed, and ouerthrowne, at the very time, they appointed to haue set forward.

All the meanes the Pope could vse by his Legates, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconcile these two enraged Kings, though diuerse enteruiues were procured, diuerse ouertures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incensed then they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) vnder which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were euer vsed to parle, and swore, *There should bee no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legate threatned to interdict the King of *France*, vnlesse hee made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, being grounded vpon no equiry, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, vndertaking to reuenge the demerits of the rebellious, that dishonored his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of England.*

This enteruiue, wrought a worse effect then all the rest: for heere the King of *England* (absolutely) refused to render *Alice* to his son *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to giue her to his son *Iohn*, with larger conditions, then should bee granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his son *Richard*, as hee becomes wholly Liegeman to the King of *France*, did homage vnto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both ioyned their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian world in his time, or that the Kingdome euer saw) to fall quite asunder; forsaken both of his subiects, and himselfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoever: he who neuer saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of *Mans*, and flies away with seuen hundred men (hauing promised the City, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himselfe borne;) and afterward comes to his last parle, with the King of *France*, betweene *Turwin*, and *Arras*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted iust betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddenly began as fearefull a thunder as the former: which so amazed the King of *England* (as he had talne off from his horse) had he not bene supported by those about him. And in this sort, began the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of *England* yeelds to whatsoever conditions,

ditions, the King of France required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings hauing at the beginning of this warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kind,) renders vp *Alice* for whom he had beene so much loden with scandall and turmoyle, vpon condition, shee should be giuen in marriage to his Son *Richard* at his returne from the holy warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the custody of any one of five whom *Richard* would nominate: grants that fealty bee giuen vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, covenants to pay the King of France 20000. Markes of silver for dammage done during these last warres. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, and Earle *Richard*. And for more caution, he yeeldes to deliuer vp the Cities of Mans and Tureyn, with diuers Castles into their Hands, &c.

And here was an end of this businesse, and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining fortune. Some few howres before he died, he saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of France, and Earle *Richard* against him: and finding therein his Son *Iohn* to be the first, falls into a grieuous passion, both cursing his Sons, and the day wherein himselfe was borne: and in that distemperature departs the world, which so often himselfe had tempered; hauing reigned 39. yeares, 7. moneths, and 5. dayes.

His Son *Richard* approaching the Corps, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the manner of Kings with all royall ornaments open faced,) the blood gushed out of the nostrils of the dead (a signe, vsually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after death, retained some intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprized with horror, is said to haue burst out into extreme lamentations.

His Death.

1189.
Anno
Reg. 35.

Hee had issue by his wife *Eliano*r, foure Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffrey* and *Iohn*; besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, died young. Also three daughters; *Mau*de married to *Henry* Duke of Saxony: *Eliano*r the wife of *Alonso* the eighth of that name King of Castile: *Ioan* giuen in marriage vnto *William* King of Sicile. Hee had also two naturall Sons, by *Rosamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in English *Long-Sword*, and *Geffrey* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, who after five yeares banishment in his brother King *Iohn*s time died, Anno 1213.

His Issue.

Vide Io. Spred.

The first son *William* surnamed *Longespee*; Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his wife; daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, Son of Earle *Patrick*) had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, & *Stephen* Earle of *Visiter*: *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*: *Ida* Lady *Benchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Isabel* Lady *Vesey*. His son, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret* wife of *Henry* Lacie Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is said, King *Henry* had also a third naturall sonne called *Morgan* (by the wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight; he liued to be Pronost of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Duresme*: and comming to *Rome* for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise vncapable) the Pope willed him to professe himselfe *Blewets* lawfull son, and not the Kings Naturall, promising to consecrate him on that condition; but he (vsing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to bee of blood Royall.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Henry the second.

The

The Life, and reigne, of Richard the first.

Hee began his
reigne the 6.
of Iuly, aged
35.

1189.
Anno
Reg. I.

The slaughter
of the Iewes
at the Coro-
nation.

RICHARD surnamed *Cœur de Lion* (borne at *Oxford*) succeeding his Father, first seizes vpon his Treasure in *France*, being in the hands of *Stephan Thurnham* Seneschall of *Normandy*, whom he imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the vttermoſt thereof. And then repaires to *Roan*, where, by *Walter* the Archbiſhop hee is girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes ſealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to *Parle* and compoſe this buſineſſe with the King of *France*, which hee did by money; and obtained reſtitution of all ſuch peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late warres. Beſides, for his better ſtrength, hee giues in marriage *Maude* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffrey* ſon to the Earle of *Perch*.

During this ſtay and ſetling of his affaires in *France*, Queene *Eliſanor* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which ſhee had endured twelue yeares) hath power to diſpoſe of the buſineſſes of *England*, which eſpecially ſhe employed in preparing the affections of the people by pardons, and relieuement of oppreſſions, and then meetes her Son at *Wincheſter*. Where (beſides his Fathers treaſure which was 900000. pounds in gold, and ſiluer; beſides plate, Jewels and pretious ſtones) there fell vnto him by the death of *Geffrey Riddle* Biſhop of *Ely* dying inteſtate, 3060. Markes of ſiluer, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of September, 1189. at *Weſtmiſter*, and imbrued with the miſerable ſlaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the City of *London*, who comming to offer their preſents, as an afflicted people, in a ſtrange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his fauour; were ſet vpon by the multitude, and many loſt both their liues and ſubſtance. The example of *London* wrought the like miſchiefe vpon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, *Saint Edmondsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

All this great Treasuſe left to this King, was not thought ſufficient for this intended action of the Holy warre (which was ſtill on foote) but that all other wayes were deuſed to raiſe more money, and the King ſells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergie and others. *Godfrey de Lucy* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* bought two Mannors *Weregane*, and *Menes*. The Abbot of *Saint Edmondsbury* the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thouſand Markes of ſiluer. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity palatinate of his whole Prouince, which occaſioned the King ieſtingly to ſay, what a cunning workeman hee was that could make of an old Biſhop a new Earle. Beſides hee grants to *William* King of *Scots* the Caſtles of *Berwicke* and *Roxborough* for 10000. Markes, and releaſeth him of thoſe couenants made and confirmed by his Charter vnto King *Henry* the ſecond, as extorted from him being then his priſoner, reſeruing vnto himſelte onely ſuch rights, as had beene and were to bee performed, by his brother *Malcolin* to his Anceſtors the Kings of *England*.

Moreouer pretending to haue loſt his Signet, made a new, and proclamation that whoſoeuer would ſafely enioy, what vnder the former Signet was granted, ſhould come to haue it confirmed by the new, whereby hee raiſed great ſummes of money to the grieve of his ſubiects. Then procures he a power from the Pope, that whoſoeuer himſelfe pleaſed to diſmiſſe from the iourney, and leaue at home, ſhould be free from taking the Croſſe: and this likewise got him great Treasuſe, which was leuiſed with much expedition by reaſon the King of *France*, in Nouember, after the Coronation, ſent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commiſſioners to ſignifie to King *Richard*, how in a generall Aſſembly at *Paris*, he had ſolemnly ſworne vpon the Euangelists to bee ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had vndertaken the Croſſe, preſently vpon Eaſter next following, thence to ſet forward for the Holy Land. And for the aſſurance, and teſtimony thereof, hee ſends the Charter of this Deede vnto the King of *England*, requiring him and his Nobility, vnder their hands

to

to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in December (having onely stayed but foure monthes in *England* after his Coronation) this King departs into *Normandie*, keepe his Christmas at *Rouen*, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of *France* at *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing vnder their hands and seales, with the faith giuen by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preseruacion of each other and their Estates, with the orders concluded for their iourney. Which done, the King of *England* sends for Queene *Elior* his mother, his brother *Iohn*, and the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Chester*, and others, which came vnto him to *Rouen*: where hee commits the especiall charge of this kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishoppe of *Ely*, vnder the Title of Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and giues him one of his Seales, and the Custodie of the Tower of *London*: and confers vpon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iusticeshippe of the North from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, which after gaue occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse. *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffrey Fitz Peter*, and *William Brewer* are ioyned in commission with the Bishop of *Ely*.

And lest his brother *Iohn* (whose spirit hee well vnderstood) might in *England* worke vpon the aduantage of his absence, he first caused him to take an Oath not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following. Which after, vpon better consideration, hee released, leauing him to his libertie and naturall respect. But hereby hauing giuen him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could neuer heale it vp againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspition of his Faith shewed him rather the waie to breake, then retaine it; whensoever occasion were offered: and the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designs. For this Earle *Iohn* had conferred vpon him in *England* the Earldomes of *Cornewall*, *Dorset*, *Sommerfet*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *Lancaster*; and by the marriage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, had likewise that Earldome; moreouer the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarfall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Titchill*, and *Eye*; to the valew of foure thousand Markes per annum, besides the great commaunds hee held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satysfie but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of his Viceroy the Bishop of *Ely*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legate of all *England* and *Scotland*; and to the end his Government might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, he confines the elect Archbishoppe of *Torke* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remaine in *Normandie* till his returne, and takes his Oath to performe the same.

Hauing thus ordered his affaires hee sends backe into *England* this Great Bishop, furnished with as great and absolute a power as hee could giue him, to prouide necessaries for his intended iourney. Wherein to please the King, hee offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque*, saith *Houeden*. Hee tooke of euery Cittie in *England* two Palfries, and two other Horses of seruice, and of euery Abbay one of each; likewise of euery Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this seruice. And to shewe what hee would prooue, hee tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishoppe of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Houeden*, questions his Authoritie, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, ouertopt him.

The King takes order for a Nauie to conuay people and prouision to the Holy land, and commits the charge thereof to the Archbishop of *Auxerre*, and the Bishop of

K

Bayon

Vide Append.
The Kings departure out of
England toward the Holy
warre.

The great
Estate left to
Earle Iohn.

Exactions by
the Viceroy.

The Kings
quarrell in the
Isle of Sicile.

Bayon, Robert de Sabul, Richard Canuile; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *June*, with their powers together, take their journey to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing so great, as bred many inconvénients, and distempnings betwene the nations) they part companies: the King of *France* takes the way of *Genova* by Land, the King of *England*, of *Marseilles*; where, after hee had stayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the coming about of his Nauie withheld by tempest, hee was forced to hire twentie Gallies, and ten other great vessels, to transport him into the Isle of *Sicilia*. The King of *France* takes shipping at *Genova*, and by tempest was driuen to land in the same Isle, and arrived there before the King of *England*: where, those mighty companies of both these powerfull Kings, fell fowle on each other, and themselues taking part with their people enter in quarrell and rancor, so that being of equall power and stomacke, and alike emulous of honour and reuenge, they began to shew what successe, their enterprize was likely to yeeld. The King of *France* repaying his wracked Nauie, and the King of *Englands* long staying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great pesture and disturbance of that people, themselues and theirs.

William late king of *Sicile* who had married *Ioane*, sister to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the entertaynement of the *Englishs* there, the worse) and *Tancredi* base sonne of *Roger*, grandfather to *William*, was inuested in the kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without yssue,) and the fidelitie of the people sworne to *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the sayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, sonne to the Emperour *Frederic Barbarossa*; by which occasion *Tancredi* was forced to vse all meanes to hold what hee had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters dowre the better, enters into league with *Tancredi* against all men to preserue his Estate, and gets in conclusion 20000. Ounces of Gold for his Sisters dowre, and 20000 more, vpon a match to bee made betwene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, sonne to *Geffery* his next brother (who was to succeed him in the Crowne of *England*, if himselfe died without yssue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

The Kings
reconciled.

Berenguela
fianced to
King Richard.

At the opening of the Spring (both kings hauing beene reconciled, and new Articles of Peace and concord signed, and sworne) the king of *France* sets first forward to the Holy Land: but the king of *England* staves in *Sicile* vntill Whitsontide after. And during his abode (which might therefore bee the longer) his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who in her youth had well knowne the trauaile of the East) came vnto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, daughter to the king of *Nauarre*, who was there fianced vnto him. Which done, Queene *Elionor* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile* take their journey with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempest driuen to the Isle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing, he assailes the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to *Richard de Canuile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof hee confirmed the vse of their owne Lawes. And here our Histories say, hee married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to bee Crowned Queene.

These mischiefes suffred these two famous Isles of Christendome in the passage of those mighty Princes against Pagans, who peraduenture would haue as well vsed them for their goods, and treasure as these did; but *Armies and power know no inferior friends*, it was their Fate so to lie in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Piety, would not sticke to doe any iniustice.

From hence passes this famous king to the Holy Land, with the spoyles and treasure of three noble rich Islands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (besides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furnish him withall) and there consumes that huge collected masse, euen as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the nation. Heere for the better vnderstanding this businesse, it is not amisse to deliuer in what sort stood the Estate of those affaires in Asia, which so much troubled these

these mighty Princes, and drew them from the vtmost bounds of Europe, thus to adu-
ture themselues, and consume their Estates.

It was now foure score and eight yeares since *Godfrey* of *Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine*,
with his company recovered the Citie of *Ierusalem*, with the Countrey of *Palestina*, and
a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtained the Kingdome thereof,
and was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Sauour, reig-
ned one yeare, died, and left to succeed him his brother *Baldwin*, who gouerned eigh-
teene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who
reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissention. *Fulke*
Earle of *Anion* marries this daughter, and enioyes the Kingdome eleuen yeares,
and left two young sonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Baldwin* reignes foure and twenty
yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaues *Baldwin* his son to
succeed him; who being sickly, and despayring of yssue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew,
son to the Marquesse of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his sifter, his successor, and com-
mits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond* Earle
of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Lusignan* who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of
Monferrato) put from that charge, and vsurped the Gouernment, and at length
the Kingdome, not without suspition of poysoning the young King. *Raymond*
making warre vpon him, *Lusignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of *Egypt* to his ayde,
who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with
their Kingdome, and wonne the Citie of *Ptolomeide*, *Afeto*, *Berytho*, *Afcalon*, and af-
ter one months siege, the Citie of *Ierusalem*, foure score and eight yeares after it had
bene conquered by *Godfrey*.

The State of
Palestina.

Now to recour this confounded State, come these two Great Kings from a farre
and a different clyme, with an Army composed of seuerall Nations, and seuerall hu-
mours, English, French, Italians and Germaines; against a mightie Prince of an vnited
power, within his owne ayre, neere at home, bred and made by the sword, inured to vi-
ctories, acquainted with the sights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of
all the best peeces of that Countrey.

And heere they sit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Sal-
adin*, which had bene before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and
had cost the liues of many worthy Princes, and great personages, whose names are
deliue- by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note:
Conradus Duke of *Suenia*, son of *Frederic* the Emperour (which *Frederic* was also drown-
ned comming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and olde *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*
that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*: *Stephen* Earle of *San-
cerre*: the Earle of *Vandosme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germany*, *Roger* and *Ioselin* Earles of
Apulia &c. And lastly, *Philip* Earle of *Flaunders*: and of our Nation, *Baldwin*
Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, *Ralph de Glanville*, Chiefe
Iustice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kyme*, &c. And notwithstanding all
the forces of these two Kings, they held out foure monthes after, and then rendred them-
selues vpon composition.

The Kings of
England and
France be-
siege Acon.

At their entring into the Citie, the Ensignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Austrich*, bee-
ing planted on the walles, were with great scorne taken downe by the comman-
dement of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected; which bred great
rancour, and was afterward the occasion of much mischief to the king of *England*.
Besides, during this siege, diuers stings were ministred, or taken of displeasure,
and malice betweene the two kings, apt to bee set on fire by the least touches of
concept.

The King of *France* full of disdaine, for the reiection of his Sister, and the mar-
riage of the King of *England* with *Berenguela*; besides competition of honour (which
their equality was subiect vnto) made any iot of the least disproportion thereof,
a wounde without cure: And daylie occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke
the same. The Article of equal demand their gaines in this voyage, concluded between them
is questioned. The king of *France*, claimes halfe the *Iste* of *Cyprus*, the King of *England*,
halfe

The Kings of
England and
France dan-
gerously sicke.

halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of Flaunders, whereon the King of France had seized; and therein, neither is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, *Marquis* of *Monferrat*: *Guy* pleads the possession thereof, which he had by his wife *Sibilla*: the King of England takes part with *Guy*: the King of France, with *Conrade*: And with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heats and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sicknesse, that cost them both, their haire, being more then they got by the voyage.

But being recovered, the King of France had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likelihood of honour or profit: and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of Flaunders, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke vp part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successor; and therefore, craues leaue of the king of England (for without leaue of each other it was covenanted, neither of them should depart) to returne home: which King Richard was hardly wonne to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him, in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.

The King of
France de-
parts from the
Holy warre.

But in the end through the earnest solicitation of the King of France, and his assurance (confirmed by Oath) not doe any thing offensive to his Dominion in France, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leauing the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King Richard betakes him to the siege of *Arsalon*: writes inuective letters against the King of France for leauing him: who likewise defames King Richard amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the periurie of these two kings did not adde more to their sin, then the action they vndertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more then an ill.*

Ten moneths the king of England staves behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valor and exceeding courage; finding euer great perverseness in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to aduance the action, where another must carry the honour: but willing alwaies to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done; and at length falls sicke, and dies at *Acon*.

Conrade mur-
dered.

Conrade, who was so much fauoured by the King of France, in his title for the Kingdome, was murdered by two *Assassini*, whereof the King of England was (but very wrongfullie) taxed; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, Sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King Richard preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, and so both contented. During this businesse abroad in the East, the state of England suffered much at home vnder the government of *Longshamp*, who vsurping the whole authority to himselfe without communicating any thing either with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners ioyned with him, did what hee listed, and with that insolencie carried himselfe, as he incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergie and Lay. His traine was said to be so great, & the pompe of attendants such, as where he lay in any religious house but one night, 3. yeares reuenues would scarce suffice to recouer the charge. Besides, being a stranger himselfe, and vsing only French men about him, made his courses the more intollerable to the English: in so much, as at length the whole Clergie, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *John* taking aduantage vpon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended vsurpation) ioynes with the state against this B. being the man that had euer crossed his courles, hauing an especiall eye vnto him, as the most dangerous person of the Kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safetie.

Longshamps
traine and
pompe,

1191.
Anno
Reg. 3.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes. *Gesfrey* the Elect Archbishop of Yorke, base sonne to *Henry* the 2. to whose preferment in Engl. King Richard was auerse (& therefore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence) had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to bee inuested in the

that Sea; whose coming into *England* being aduertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, he was at his landing at *Doner* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which hee had recouered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall habit trailed into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *Iohn*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answere the matter, before the assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Pauls*: where, they Article, and vrge against him many hainous actions committed, contrarie to the Commission giuen him, and the Weale of the King, and Kingdome.

The Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguile*, shewed openly the Kings Letters patents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the gouernment of *England*; which notwithstanding, hee would neuer suffer them to deale with the same: but by his owne violent, and headlong will, doe all him selfe wherefore in the end hee was by the Assembly deposed from his Office: and the Archbishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windfor* are taken from him, and deliuered to the Archbishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (hauing enuy so neere him, and a maiister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take vp that for the Holy warre: and priuily seeking to escape ouer Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a webbe of Linnen cloth vnder his arme, taken vpon the shore at *Doner*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight daies hee was by the Earle *Iohn* released, and suffered to goe on his journey; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage, he had the aduantage of his aduersaries, and preuailed against them with the Pope, who tooke it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

The Earle *Iohn*, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant vnto the City of *London* their Common (or liberties,) and the Cittizens swore fealtie to King Richard and his heire: and that if he died without issue, they would receiue the Earle *Iohn* for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty vnto him against all men, reseruing their faith to King Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *Iohn* for his brothers Crowne, whilst hee is beleagaring *Ascalon*, and grappling with *Saladin* Sultan in the East. But hauing notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin*, contrarie to his Oath; hee takes the opportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a truce for three yeares, vpon condition that hee should restore *Ascalon* to the same State wherein he found it before the siege: which hee did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Armie. And presently leauing Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could prouide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returnes from this action, with as great precipitation as hee vndertooke it: hauing consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise hee could teare from his subiects, and others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

Pardon vs Antiquity, if we miscensure your actions, which are euer (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and haue onely their upholding by the opinion of the present: wee deale with you but as posterity will with vs (which euer thinkes it selfe the wiser) that will iudge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot bee but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pittifull an euent. For hauing taken vp by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of Siluer, (disguised vnder the names of Pilgrimes,) hee was by his lauish expences discovered to bee the King of *England*; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay a nie couering thereon, that could euer hide him more: though vpon warning thereof, he presently left all his companie, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the daungers of a wilde desert, and rocky Country, trauiayling day and night, passeth

Geffrey the Elect of Yorke taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.

Longshamp the Chancellor deposed from his office.

He flies and is taken.

King Richards departure from Palestina.

His discovery.

King Richard
taken prisoner

into *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier post then himselfe, was before him. And coming to a Village nere to Vienna, and reposing himselfe in a poore hosterie, was taken asleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to prouide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing money was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and vpon examination confessed where his maister was; of which prize the Duke was most ioyfull, in respect of his reuenge for the disgrace hee did him at the entering of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the Emperour *Henry* the 6, whom likewise he had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base son of *Roger* in the vsurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King Richard
deposed him-
selfe of the
Kingdome of
England.

Newes hereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France* that he might likewise reioyce at this fortune, and hee tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of France, was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heauy disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of captiuitie, who is sayd to haue borne his fortune with that magnanimity, and cleered himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperors kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as hee won the affection of the Emperour, so that he professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we find, *That King Richard deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England, and deliuered the same to the Emperour as his supream Lord, and inuested him therein by the deliuering up his hat*, which the Emperour returned vnto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdome from him for 50 thousand pounds sterling to be payd as an annuall tribute.

Earle Iohn
doth homage
to the King of
France for
Normandy.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *John*, preuailed so much with the Emperour as hee held him prisoner a whole yeare, and sixe weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made vnto him. For he, and the Earle *John* fully accounted that he should haue bene held a perpetuall prisoner, and vpon that reckning the Earle *John* did homage to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine territories, and for *England* as it is sayd: and besides resignes vnto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexin*, swears to marry his sister *Alice*, and to bee diuorced from his other Wife the Daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*. The King of *France* couenants to giue him with his sister that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earldome, and swears to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoeuer else the Lands of his brother.

Then goes the Earle *John* ouer into *England* carrying many strangers with him, and presently the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor* are rendred vnto him: then comes hee to *London* and requires of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the Kingdome of *England*, and that fealty bee made vnto him, affirming his brother was dead: but they not giuing credit vnto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, hee fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner inuades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to ioine with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull seruants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the inuasion of the *French*, and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seeke to ayde the Earle *John*; and also they labour the redemption of the King, whose ranome the Emperour rates at 100 thousand Markes, with the finding of fittie Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his seruice in the holy warres for one yeare.

In *Normandy* the Officers and Seruants of the King of *England* defend with no lesse faith, and courage the right of their Maister against the King of *France*, who with all his power labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ranome. This toyle and charge is the world put into through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy King, who, onely in respect of his valour (being otherwise not worth so much) and the Holy worke hee vndertooke, (whereby hee obliged the Clergie, which then managed all,) got the opinion and loue of his subiects, in such sort, as they straine euen

euen beyond their ability to recouer and preserue him, and so wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King Richard in this manner: That hee should send his Commissioners to London, and receiue an hundred thousand Markes of pure siluer of Cologne waight, to be sealed up and safely conducted to the bounds of the Empire at the perill of the King of England; and other fifty thousand Markes of siluer (whereof twenty thousand for the Duke of Auftrich, and thirty thousand for the Emperour, to be payd at seven moneths after, and pledges to be giuen: threescore to the Emperour, and seuen to the Duke. Besides, the King of England swears to send his Neece, the sister of Arthur Earle of Brittain, to be married to the Duke of Auftrich, &c.

And the Emperour granted to the King of England by his Charter the souerainity of Prouence, Vienne, and Viennoys, Marsellis, Narbona, Arts, Lyons, and whatsoeuer hee had in Burgogne, with the Homages of the King of Arragon, the Earles of Dijon, and Saint Giles. In which countries were five Archbishopsricks, thirty three Bishopricks; but the Emperour could neuer haue domination ouer them, nor they receiue any Lord that hee presented them. So that this great gift consisted but in title, which yet pleased King Richard, that hee might not seeme to part with all his substance for nothing. And the same wind he sends to Hubert the new Archbishop of Canterbury, late made his Vicegerent in England, to be blowne ouer all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote vnto him: wherein he hath these words. For that sure I am, you much desire our deliuerance and greatly reioyce therein, we wil that you be partaker of our ioy, and thought fit to signifie to your belouednes, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thereof to be vpon Munday after the feast of the Natiuity, and the Sunday after we shall receiue the Crowne of the Kingdome of Prouence, which he hath giuen vs, whereof wee send his letters Patents vnto you, and other our friends, and well willers: & do you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort those you know loue vs; and desire our promotion. Telle me also apud Spiram 22. Sept. The Emperour likewise writes to the Bishops, Earles, Barons, and other the subiects of England, how he purposed to aduance and magnificently to honor his speciall friend their King, and in this Coyne are they payd at home for what they were to lay out.

King Richard sends after this, for his Mother Queene Elionor (who is still a trauailer) and for the Archbishop of Rouen with many others to come vnto him, about the time and businesse of his deliuerance, for which, There is imposed vpon every Knights fee twenty shillings, the fourth part of all lay mens reuenues, and the fourth part of all the reuenues of the Clergie, with a tenth of their goods is enioyned to be payd. The Chaltices and treasure of all Churches are taken to make up the summe, the like is done in all his territories beyond the Seas, so dearely cost the returne of this King from his Easterne voyage.

And his Queene Berenguela had likewise her part of affliction in this iourney, for shee with her sister in law the Queene Dowager of Sicilia, fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeere in trauailing from Palestina, and at length were conducted vnto Poitou. The King of France hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King Richard and the Emperour, writes to the Earle Iohn how the diuell was got loose, willing him now to looke to himselfe; and is vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed thus of their hopes. And therevpon, the Earle Iohn leauing his Castles in England well defended, and encouraging his Souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into Normandy, where hee with the King of France, whilest King Richard is yet in the Emperours hands, solicites him, with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand markes, or else a thousand pound a moneth, so long as he held him his prisoner. But it preuailed not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King Richard (that hee might see what care was taken for him) and then deliuers him to his mother Elionor, receiuing the pledges for obseruation of peace, (and the rest of the ranfome vn timer) the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath, with the sonnes of many principall Earles and Barons. And so in February, one yeare and sixe weekes after his Captiuitie, in the fourth yeere of his reigne hee returnes into England, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had communicated the Earle Iohn, and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of Marleborow, Lancaster, and a fortresse at Saint Michels mount in Cornewall, defended by Henry de Pumeroy. But his Castle of Nottingham, though strongly assailed by Ralph Earle of Chester and

The Emperors composition with King Richard.

King Richards letters into England.

1192.
Anno
Reg. 4.

The King of France and Earle Iohn proffer great summs to hold King Richard prisoner.

King Richards returne into England.

1193.
Anno
Reg. 5.

A Parliament
at Nottingham.

Richard againe
crowned at
Winchester.

Resumptions.

and the Earle Ferrers, and the Castle of Tichill by the Bishop of Duresme, held out for the Earle Iohn, and found the King some worke to doe vpon his returne; who presently without any stay orberwhere, came before Nottingham Castle with all the shew of state and greatnesse he could make; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeelede, confident either in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King euer to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolved to hold out for their maister; which put the King to much trauaile, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselves, which was also vpon pardon. Those of the Castle of Tichill yeelded to the Bishop of Duresme, their persons, and goods saved.

The King assembles a Parliament at Nottingham, where Queene Elionor was present, and sate on his right hand. The first day of the Session, he disseiseth Girard de Canuile of the Castle of Lincolne, and the Shriefwick of that Shire: from Hugh Bardolph he takes the Shriefwicke of Yorkshire, the Castles of Yorke, Scarborough, and the custody of Westmerland, and exposes them al to sale. The Archbishop of Yorke gives for the Shriefwicke of Yorkshire three thousand Markes, with one hundred Markes of annuall rent.

The second day of the Session the King requires iudgement vpon the Earle Iohn, for hauing contrary to his Oath of fealty, vsurped his Castles, &c. and contracted confederacy with the King of France against him. And likewise iudgement against Hugh de Nauant Bishop of Couentry, for adhering to the Earle Iohn, and the Kings enemies. And it was adiudged, they shold both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the Law. Which if they did not, the Earle Iohn to deserue banishment, and the Bishop to undergoe the iudgement, both of the Clergie, as being a Bishop, and of the Layety, being the Kings Shrieve: But this Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings fauour, and his Bishopricke, for five thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was granted to the King, of euery plough-land throughout England, two shillings: besides, the King required the third part of the service, of euery Knights fee, for his attendance in Normandy: and all the Wooll that yeare of the Monkes Cisteaux. Which for that it was grievous and insupportable vnto them, they fine for money.

The fourth and last day, was for the bearing of grievances and accusations, and so this assembly brake vp. But here either to adde more Maiestie after calamity, or else to nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appoynted the Kings recoronation to be solemnized at Winchester, presently vpon the Feast of Easter next following. Whilest the King was in these parts, William King of Scots, repaires to him, and required the dignities and honour his predecessors of right had in England, and withall, the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancaster. To whom the King of England first answered, that he would satisfie him by the aduice of his Councel, which shortly after was assembled at Northampton; where after deliberation, he told him, That his petition ought not in reason, to be granted at that time, when almost all the Princes of France were his enemies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, then any true affection, & so put it off for that time with faire promises: yet grants he by the aduice and consent of the Councell, vader his Charter, to William King of Scots and his heires for euer: That when by summons they shold come to the Court of the King of England, the Bishop of Duresme, & the Shrieve of Northumberland should receiue them at the riuer of Tweed, & bring them vnder safe conduct to the riuer of Teis, and there the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Shrieve of Yorkshire should receiue & conduct them to the bounds of that County: & so the Bishops and Shriefes of other Shires till they came to the Court of the King of England; and from the time that the King of Scots first entred into this Realme, he should haue an hundred shillings a day allowed of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shillings a day, and twelue Wastells, and twelue Simnells of the Kings foure quartes of the Kings best wine & six of ordinary wine, two pounnds of pepper, & foure pounnds of Cinamon; two pounnds of Waxe, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary; and at his returne to bee safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

From Northampton, both th Kings go to Woodstock, and thence to Winchester, where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnized. And there King Richard resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of Winchester, at his going to the holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of Winobester and that County, with whatsoeuer sales hee had made else

of

of the *Demaynes* of the Crowne, alledging *that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertayning to the same whereby his State was to subsist*. The Bishop of *Duresme* seeing these reuocations, did voluntarily, deliuer vp the Castle of *Duresme*, with the Country of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be deliuered to *Hugh Bardolph*. *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln* gaue for the liberty of his Church one thousand Markes of silues, redeeming thereby the custome of giuing to the King of *England* euery yeare a cloke furnished with *Sabells*.

Here all such who had taken part with the Earle *John* and defended his Castles, were summoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ransome, the poorer sort let go at liberty, but vnder sureties of an hundred Markes a peece, to answere in the Kings Court whensoever they should be called. The King of *Scots*, seeing the King of *England* vse all meanes for money, offers fifteene thousand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledging *how King Henry the second gaue the same to Henry his Father, and that after him, King Malcolm enioyed it five yeares*. This large offer of money tempted King *Richard* so, as againe hee consulted with his Councell about the matter, and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the king of *Scots*, reseruing to himselfe the Castles: but that, the king of *Scots* would not accept, and so with much discontent departs into *Scotland*; yet two yeares after this, King *Richard* sends *Hubert Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Yorke*, there to treat with the king of *Scots* of a marriage betweene *Osbo* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the said king, to haue for her dowrie all *Lynox*, and he would giue with his Nephew, *Northumberland* and the *Earldome* of *Carlisle*, with all the Castles; but the Queene of *Scots* in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with Child, it tooke no effect.

From *Winchester*, king *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ships, so that his stay in *England* was but from the latter end of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his businesse of *France*; which tooke vp all the rest of his reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof hee was neuer aboute eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe wee finde that euer his wife *Berenguela* was here, or had any dowry or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much soeuer she had deserued.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in generall, or any mannes particular, was (to the great charge and trauayle of the subiects of *England*, to be dispatched in *Normandie*: and that gaine we had by our large dominions abroad. The first action that king *Richard* vnderooke vpon his comming ouer, was, the relieuing of *Vernoul*, besieged by the king of *France*; and there his brother *John*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Elionor* is reconciled vnto him, and abiures the part of the king of *France*. And to make his party the stronger in those countries, hee first giues his sister *Ioane*, Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tolouse*, being the neereft neighbour of power to his *Duchy* of *Guien*, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* from whom the king of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vernandois*, and on all sides seekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at least, held this miserable turnoyle betwixt these two kings, surprising, recouering, ruyning and spoyling each others Estate, often deceiuing both the world, and themselves with shew of couenants reconciliatorie, which were euermore broken againe vpon all aduantages according to the mystery of war and ambition.

King *Philp* of *France* to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the *English*, marries *Botilda* the sister of *Knut* king of *Denmark*; but this match, made for his ends, & not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding hee put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had hee long and great contention with the Church and the king of *Denmarke*. The Emperor sends to the king of *England* a massie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him against the king of *France*, and to inuade his kingdome; but the king returns him onely thanks, not willing to haue him stirre in this busines, in regard hee suspected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be safe for him: or that

King Richard
departs into
Normandie
with 100 ships.

1194.
Anno
Reg. 6.
Vide Append.

Meanes vsed
for money.

that the King of France dealing with the Emperour might win him with mony, and so in the end, ioyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, England was sure still to beare the heauiest part: and no shift is left vnought, that might any way rayse meanes to the King from hence. Witnesse the *Commission* given to the *Iustices Itinerants* sent into euery Shire of England for exaction vpon pleas of the Crown, for *Escheates, wardships, marriages, &c.* with the *improvement of the Demaynes*, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the *Estates of men*, and especially of the *Iewes*, on whom the king would haue none to prey but himselfe: Then the raising an imposition vpon allowance of *Turnements*, which was for euery Earle twenty Markes of siluer: euery Baron, ten, euery Knight hauing lands, foure: and for such as had none, two Markes for a licence. The Collection whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury commits to his brother *Theobald Walter*. Besides another new seale, the old being lost by the *Vice-Chancellor* at the taking of Cyprus, brings in a new exaction.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, Anno Reg. 9 by *Hugh Bardolph*, *Roger Arundle* and *Geffrey Hatchet*, *Iustices Itinerants* for *Lyncolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Yorkeshire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Lancaster*, was of a higher straine of exaction, and more profound, as hauing more of time, and presumption vpon the peoples sufferance; of whom, when once triall was made that they would beare, were sure to haue more layd on them then they were able to vndergoe. And with these vexations (saith *Houeden*) all England from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame pouerty, and yet it ended not heere: another torment is added to the confusion of the Subiects by the *Iustices of the Forests*, *Hugh Neuile*, chiefe *Iustice*, *Hugh Wac*, and *Ernise de Neuile*, who not onely execute those hidious lawes introduced by the *Norman*, but impose other of more tyrannicall seuerity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserues to be vtterly forgotten, hauing afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnes of more regular Princes, beene affwaged and now out of vse.

Besides in the same year, this King imposes 5. shil. vpon euery Hide or Plough-land, (which contained an hundred Acres:) for the leuying whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by his Vicegerent the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the people of England should finde three hundred Knights for one yeare to remaine in his service, or so much money, allowing for euery Knight, three shillings per diem. Against which, *Hugh Bishop* of *Lyncoln* opposes, and saues, that he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example to posteritie, that should not complaine thereof, and say: Our Fathers haue eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edges; and turning to the Archbishop, wished him, that he would doe nothing whereof he might be ashamed.

This Archbishop so husbanded the Kings businesse, that in Anno Reg. 7. hee yeelded an accompt vnto him, that hee had leuied of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares, eleuen hundred thousand Markes of siluer; which, considering that time, is a most remarkable summe. And now, as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a businesse of Treasure with *Stephen Thurstan Seneschall* of *Normandy*, so was it likewise the last, and the cause of his destruction: for *Widomare*, Viscount of *Limoges*, hauing found a great treasure of siluer and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying clayme to the whole; *Widomare* denying the same, the King layes siege to his Castle where he imagined the treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their liues, members, and Armor saued; which the King would not yeeld vnto, but swore that hee would sack the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperately they resolved to stand to their defence. King *Richard* with *Marchard*, Generall of the *Brabancons* going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault; *Bertram de Gurdun*, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with such a deadly blow, as he was presently sent to his lodging: notwithstanding commands hee his forces to prosecute the assault without intermission; which they did, and tooke the Castle, putting to execution all the defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings command was reserued.

But

Vndecies centena millia Marc. Houed.

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behinde, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despaire of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leauing to his brother *Iohn* three parts of his treasure, and the forth to his seruants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram Gurdun* to be brought vnto him, of whom he demaunded, what hurt he had done him, that prouoked him to doe this mischiefe: to whom *Bertram* replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest haue slaine mee, take what reuenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoeuer torture thou canst inflict vpon me: in respect I haue slaine thee, who hast done such and so great mischiefe to the world.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answer, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgave him his death, but commanded 100. shillings sterling to be giuen vnto him, but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and flayed.

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine monthes, wherein hee exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserued then any, hauing neither liued here, neither left behind him monument of Pietie; or of any other publique worke, or euer shewed loue or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what hee could from it. Neuer had Prince more giuen with lesse adoe and lesse noise then hee. The reason whereof, as I haue said, was his vndertaking the Holy warres, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergie, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing: and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victorie in *France*) were brought to beare more then euer otherwise they would haue done.

Then had he such Ministers here to serue his turne as preferred his, before the seruice of God, and did more for him in his absence, then euer peraduenture hee would, or could haue done for himselfe by being here present. For, both, to hold their places, & his good opinion, they deuise more shifts of rapine, then had euer bin practised before in this kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subiect; which rent, and torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* and *Law*, the maine supporters of humane societie, ordained to preferue the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent ouercharging the State in these times, gaue occasion to the future, to prouide for themselves; Excesses euer procure alterations. And the Successors of this king were but little beholding vnto him; for out of his & his brothers irregularitie, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this king would haue proued, had his daies allowed him other then this rough part of warre, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made vnto him, we are shewed that he was conuertible. For being by him vehemently vrged to be mindefull of the subuersion of *Sodome*, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, thereby, to auoyd the vengeance of God, he vpon an insuing sicknes (a founder Counsaillor then health) remembering this aduertisement, vowes a reformation of his life: and did afterward vpon his recovery, euery morning rise early to heare diuine seruice. For which *Houeden* hath this note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and indges the end of the Earth.* Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessell, that had beene taken and sold for ranfome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was hee told by a Priest in *France* that he had three euill daughters, and admonished to put them away and bestow them abroad to auoyde the punishment of God. The King gaue him the lie and sayd, he knew none he had, Yes Sir, replied the Priest, three daughters you haue, and they are these, Pride, Couetousnesse, and Letcherie. The King calling those who were present about him, & relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these his 3. daughters which the Priest charged him withall. The 1. which is Pride, I giue to the Templars and Hospitallers, Couetousnesse, to the Monkes of *Cîteaux* Order, and Letcherie to the Clergie: this *Sodaine* retortion shewes vs his quicknesse, and what kinde of men were then maligne, and out of his grace.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Richard the first.

The death of
King Richard.

1199.
Anno
Reg. 10.

His yssue.

The Life, and reigne, of King Iohn.

1199.
Anno
Reg I.



HOH having his brothers Army in the field, with all his Seruants and followers, entertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the aduantages of *time, power, and opinion*, to helpe him on to his desires. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being vpon busines in those parts, and the most potent minister he could with, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for *England*, with *William Marshall* Earle of *Strigul*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, &c. to prepare the people to receiue him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and vndertaking for him that he should restore vnto them their rights, and gouerne the kingdome, as he ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content vpon those conditions, to sweare Fealty vnto him against all men. These vndertakers, likewise, send word to *William* King of *Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that he should also haue full satisfaction for what he claymed in *England*, vpon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in *Arthur* the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Anion, Maine* and *Turcine*, maintayning the visuall custome of inheritance, adhere to *Arthur*, whom his mother *Constance* puts vnder the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiues him and vndertakes the defence of his right.

Iohn hauing his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England*, could haue no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but hauing receiued the inuestiture of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother *Elionor* (who must haue her part in euery act of her Sonnes) passes ouer into *England*, and by way of election receiues the crowne vpon the Ascension day, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat. Pa.*) before the whole assembly of the State shewed, that by all reason, diuine & humane, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthynesse of his vertues, vniuersally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c. which then, seemes especially vrged in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Archbishop afterward, vpon this poynt, being questioned, confessed to his friends, that he foresaw this man would, (what bloud and mischiese soeuer it should cost) in the end obtayne the Crowne. And therefore the safer way was, to preuent confusion, that the land should rather make him King, then he make himselfe; and that this election would be some eye vpon him.

So came *Iohn* to the Crowne of *England* which he gouerned with as great iniustice as he gat it, and imbarcked the state, and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperat effects, and made way to those great alterations in the gouernment which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especial agent in this preferment of her Sonne *Iohn*, in respect of her owne greatnesse, knowing how shee should be more by him, then shee could bee by her grand-child *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so ouer-shaddow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, *Arthur* was a child, borne and bred a stranger, and neuer shewed vnto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not bee such (in regard of the danger of the aduenture, things standing as they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safetie, then seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

The state of *England* secured; King *Iohn* returnes into *Normandy* vpon intelligence giuen of the defection wrought in those parts by *Philip* the French King, who had giuen the order of Knighthood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Anion, Poitou, Main, Turcin*, and also for *Normandy* (in regard as he pretended) that King *Iohn* had neglected to come, & doe him homage for the same, as members held of the crowne of *France*. King

Iohn

King Iohns
Coronation.

England secured
to King
Iohn.

Iohn, not willing vpon his new and doubtfull admission to the gouernment to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine warre, mediate a parle with the King of *France*, who well vnderstanding the time, and his owne aduanrages, requires so vnreasonable conditions, as King *Iohn* could not, without great dishonour yeeld vnto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of *France* vnder pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himselfe; which being discouered, *Arthur* with his mother *Constance*, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselues to the protection of King *Iohn*; of whom likewise conceiuing a sodaine ieaousie, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming, got secretly away & fled to *Angiers*. So this yong Prince, borne to be cruist betweene these two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gaue occasion by leauing them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *Iohn* buyes his peace vpon these yeelding conditions: That *Louys*, eldest sonne to King *Philip*, should marry his Neece *Blanch*, daughter of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and haue with her in Dowre, the City and Countie of *Eureux*, with sundry Castles in *Normandy*, and 30. thousand Markes in Silver. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leaue vnto him all his territories in *France*. And that he would not ayd his Nephew *Otho* (lately elected Emperor) against *Philip* brother to the late Emperor *Hen. 6.* whom the K. of *France* fauoured, in opposition of Pope *Innocentius* who took the part of *Otho*.

After this peace made, *Otho* taking it vnkindly to bee thus forsaken of his Vnckle *Iohn*, sends his two brothers, *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William Winton* (so titled, for hauing bin borne at *Winchester*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the Countie of *Poictou*, and two parts of the treasure which his Vnckle King *Richard* had bequeathed vnto him, besides other moueables; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferior nature to the present interests of State. To this vnkind and vnaturall act hee presently addes another: Repudiates his wife (daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, alleadging consanguinity in the third degree) and marries *Isabell* daughter and inheretrix to the Earle of *Angloisme* fianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custody she then was. And hauing finished these distastefull busineses, hee returns to giue as little contentment into *Engl.* where he imposes 3. shillings vpon euery Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30. thousand Marks he was to giue with his Neece *Blanch*, the collection whereof *Geffery* Archb. of *Torke* opposes within his Prouince. For which, and for refusing, vpon summons to come vnto this late treaty in *France*, the King causes his Shrieve, *James Potern*, to seaze vpon all his temporalities. The Archb. interdicts the whole prouince of *Torke*, and excommunicates the Shrieve. K. *Iohn* shortly after, makes a progresse with his wife Queene *Isabel*, ouer all the north parts vnto *Scotland*, and exacts great fines of offenders in his forrests. In his passing through *Torke-shire*, his brother the Archb. refused him wine, and the honour of the Bells at *Beuerley*, but by the mediation of 4 B. and 4 Barons, and a great sum of money, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on either part.

Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabel* his Queene, by the Archb. *Hubert*. And there are the Earls and Barons of *Engl.* summoned to be ready with horse and armor to passe the seas with him presently vpon *Whitfontide*; but they holding a conference together at *Leicester*, by a generall consent send him word, That vnlesse he would render them their rights & liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdom. The King, saith *Houedex*, vring ill counsell, required of them their Castles, & beginning with *William de Aubenie* demanded to haue his Castle of *Beauoyr*; *William* deliuers his son in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, hauing taken order for the gouernment, he passes ouer with his Queene into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the reuolters to forbear their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong couenants, and cautions as could be deuised, is made of the Agreements with King *Philip* of *France*, who feasts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris* with all complements of amitie.

I

And

1200.

Anno
Reg. 2.

Prince *Arthur*
and his mother
flee to *Angiers*.

King *Iohn* puts
away his wife.

1201.

Anno
Reg. 3.

An imposition
of 3. shillings
vpon euery
Plough land.

His second
Coronation.

1202.

Anno
Reg. 4.

Vide Append.

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subiects reuenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succor the Holy Land. For the leauying whercof in *England*, *Geffrey Fitz Peter* Chiefe Iusticiar sends out his Writs by way of request and perswasion, *and not as of due or coaction, to auoyd example.*

But many moneths passed not, ere a new conspiracy brake out by the instigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* and *Brittaine*, and raised a strong side, which the King of *France* (notwithstanding all those tyes wherein hee stood ingaged to the King of *England*) betakes himselfe vnto, in regard of his owne interests and aduantages, from which no bands could withhold him: and againe both these Kings are in Armes. The King of *France* declares himselfe for *Arthur*, to whom he marries his youngest daughter: requires King *Iohn* to deliuer vp vnto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptorie day summons him to appeare personally at *Paris*, to answer what should bee laide to his charge, and abide the Arrest of his Court, which King *Iohn* refusing, was by sentence adiudged to lose all he held of that Crowne.

He takes his Nephew Arthur prisoner.

Then is he assailed on one side by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other by *Arthur*, and the Barons in *Aniou*, who lay siege to *Mirabel*, defended by *Elinor* the Queene mother, and were vpon the point of taking it; when King *Iohn*, with greater expedition and force then was expected, came and defeated the whole Army of the assailants, tooke prisoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poitou*, and about 200. Knights, and men of command, all which he carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into diuers Castles both of *Normandy* and *England*,

Arthur murdered.

This victory, which might seeme enough to haue established his Estate, vndid him; for by the ill vsing thereof he lost himselfe, and his reputation for euer. *Arthur* is shortly after murdered in prison, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his prisoners and Ostages, so exasperates the Nobility of *Brittaine*, *Aniou* and *Poitou*, as they all take Armes against him, and summoned he is to answer in the Court of Iustice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeale: which, hee refusing, is condemned both to lose the Dutchy of *Normandy* (which his Ancestors had held by the space of 300. yeares) and all his other Prouinces in *France*, whercof the next yeare after, either though his negligence, being (as they write) giuen ouer to the pleasures of his young wife, or by the reuolt of his owne Ministers (incensed likewise against him) he became wholly dispossessed.

King Iohn fines the Barons:

And in this disastrous estate, hee returns into *England*, and charges the Earles and Barons with the reproach of his losses in *France*, and fines them to pay the seuenth part of all their goods for refusing him ayde. Neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this imposition. *Of which rapine* (saith *Mat. Par.*) *were executors*, *Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury for the Clergie*, and *Geffrey Fitz Peter Iusticiar of Eng. for the Layetic.*

1205.

Anno

Reg. 7.

A Parliament at Oxford.

All this treasure collected, amounted not to answer his wants; or the furnishing of fresh supplies for the recovery of his losses (for which hee vrges the same to bee raised) and therefore againe in lesse then the space of an yeare, another leauie (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is conuoked at *Orford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a halfe of euery Knights fee for military aide: neither departed the Clergy from thence till they had likewise promised their part. No sooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-deuouring Gulphe of *France* to issue it, through a reuolt begun in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Constance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Saueri de Malleon*, and *Almeric Lusignian*, confederate with many others; who receiuing not that satisfaction, expected from their new Maister, call in their olde againe, to shew vs, that mens priuate interests, howsoeuer Honour and Iustice are pretended, onely sway their affections, in such actions as these.

And ouer hastes King *Iohn*; and by the power he brought, and what he found there, won the strong Castle of *Mont Alban*, and after the City of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to haue recovered more; but that the King of *France*, by the fortune of one day (wherein he ouerthrew and took prisoners the chiefe confederats, *Guido*, *Almeric*, & *Saueri*) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into *Engl.* for more supplies.

And

And here another imposition is layd of the thirteenth part of all moueables; and other goods both of the Clergy and Layetie: who now seeing their substances thus consumed without successe, and likely euer to be made liable to the Kings desperate courses, beginne to cast for the recouery of their ancient immunities, which vpon their former sufferance had bin vsurped by their late Kings, & to ease themselues of these burthens indirectly layd vpon them. And the first man that opposed the collection of this imposition, was againe the Archb. of *Yorke*, who solemnly accused the receiuers thereof within his Prouince, and secretly conueyed himselfe out of the Kingd. desirous rather to liue as an exile abroad, then to endure the miserie of oppression at home: *men accounting themselues lesse iniuriouly risked in a wood, then in a place where they presume of safetie.*

And hence grew the beginning of a miserable breach betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and disioynted in those iust Ligaments of Command and Obedience that should hold them together; the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble blood, then all the warres foraigne had done since the Conquest. For this contention ceased not (though it often had some faire intermissions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt soueraigntie, and subiection (first obtained of this King *Iohn*, after, of his sonne *Hen. 3.* (though obserued truely of neither) was in the maturity of a iudiciall Prince; *Edward* the first, freely ratified *An. Reg. 27.* which was about foure score yeares. And was the first ciuill dissention that euer wee finde, since the establishing of the English Kingdome, betweene the King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, we are to take a view of the face of those times, the better to iudge of the occasions giuen and taken of these turbulencies.

It was this time, about 140. yeares since *William* the first had here planted the *Norman* Nobility, whose issue beeing now become meere English, were growne to bee of great numbers, of great meanes, and great spirits, euer exercised in the warres of *France*, where most of them were commanders of Castles, or owners of other Estates, besides what they held in *England*: and beeing by this violent and vnsuccessfull King shut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practised to preserve what was left, and to make themselues as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priuiledges of the Kingdom (necessity now driuing them to looke into it) they more boldly presume to attempt, in regard they saw themselues, and the Kingdom brought to be perpetually harassed at the Kings will, & that violence and corruption hath no faculty to prescribe vpon them: wherein their cause was much better then their prosecution. For whilst they strue to recouer what they had lost, and the King to keepe what hee by aduantage of time and sufferance had gotten, many vniust and insolent courses are vied on either side, which leaue their staine to posterity, and make foule the memory of those times. We can excuse no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diseased Head first made a distempered body, which being not to be recouered apart, rendred the sicknesse so long and tedious as it was. Besides, the strange corruption of the season ~~occurred~~ to adde to this mischief: An ambitious Clergy polluted with auarice, brought Piety in shew to be a presumptiue party herein, & takes aduantages vpon the weakenesses they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occasion of their interposition in this businesse beganne about the Election of a new Archb. of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Couent had made secretly in the night, of one *Reginald* their Subprior; to preuent the King whom they would not, should haue a hand in the busines, which they pretended to appertaine freely to themselves by their ancient priuiledges. And this *Reginald* (thus elected) they instantly dispatch towards *Rome*, taking his Oath of secrecie before hand. But the fulnesse of his ioy burst open that locke, and out comes the report of his aduancement, vpon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, send to the King to craue leaue to elect a fit man for that Sea: The King nominates vnto them *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he especially fauoured, and periwaded them (vpon great promises of their good) to preferre: the Kings desire is propounded to the Couent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* aduanced to the Chaire.

1206.

Anno

Reg. 8.

The cause of the breach betweene the King and his people.

1207.

Anno

Reg. 9.

Vide Append.

Reginald first chosen Archb. by the Monks.

Wherein their last error (saith Mat. Par.) was worst then their first, and began thudiscord, which after prooued an irreparable dammage to the Kingdome.

The King sends to Rome certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Helias de Branfield*, a most trusty seruant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaints, to the Pope against the Monkes for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by Right and Custome they ought: alledging examples of three Archbishops so elected. The Monkes oppose this allegation, offering to bring prooffe that they onely, by the speciall priuiledge of the Roman Bishops, were accustomed to make this Election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day for deciding this Controuersie; wherein the first Election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: the last was argued by some of the Monkes to be ill, by reason there was no cassation of the first, which iust or iniust, ought to haue bene, before any other Election, could iuridically be made.

The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree vpon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adiudged both Elections voyde, and presents vnto them a third man, which was *Stephan de Lancton*, a Cardinall of great spirit, and an Englishman borne, who had all the voyces of those Monkes which were there, through the perswasion of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogatiue to make good this choyce.

Stephan Lancton thus elected, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismisses the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, benignly to receiue this Archbishop Canonically elected, native of his Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor of Theologie; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conuersation: a man fit, both for his body and his soule, &c. Withall hee writes to the Prior, and Monkes of *Canterbury*, charging them by the vertue of Holy obedience to receiue the Archbishop to their Pastor, and humbly to obey him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.

These letters, with the notice of what was done at Rome, so enraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Foulke de Cantlo*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to seaze vpon all they had; which presently was as violently executed as commanded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flanders* (except such as were sicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

Herewithall he writes a sharpe letter to the Pope, accusing him of the wrong hee did in calling the election of *Norwich* whom he especiall fauoured, and aduancing *Stephan Lancton*, a man unknowne vnto him, bred euery in the Kingdome of France & among his enemies; & what was more to his preiudice, and subuersion of the liberties appertaining to his Crowne, without his consent (giuen to the Monkes) which should first haue bene required, he had presumed rashly to prefer him: so that he much meruailed that the Pope and the uniuersall Court of Rome, would not call to minde how necessary his friendship had hitherto bene to that sea: and consider, that the Kingdome of England yeelded the same greater profit, and commoditie, then all the Kingdomes else on this side the Alpes. Besides, that he would stand to the liberty of his Crowne to the death: constantly affirming, that he could not be reuoked from the Election and preferment of the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he knew euery way fit for the place. And in conclusion threatens, that if he be not righted in the Premises, he would stop up the passages of his people to Rome; and that if necessity required, he had in the Kingdome of England, and other his Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of so sufficient learning, as they needed not goe to begge iustice, and iudgement of strangers. The Pope returns answere to the Kings letter, and begins with these words, *When about the businesse of the Church of Canterbury, we wrote vnto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignly, you againe wrote backe to vs (as I may say, by your leaue) in a fashion threatening, reprooing, contumacious, and stubbornely; and whilest we tooke care, to giue you aboue your right, you regard not to giue vs according to our right, respecting vs lesse then becomes you. And if your deuotion be most necessary for vs, so is ours no lesse fit for you. When wee, in such a case haue honoured no Prince so much as you, you sicke not*

Innocent the ninth.

Stephan Lancton elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

King Iohn offended with this Election, writes to the Pope.

to derogate from our honour, more then any Prince in such a case would haue done: pretending certaine frivolous occasions, wherein you alledge that you cannot consent to the Election of our beloved Sonne Master Stephan Presbiter by the title of Saint Chryfogonus Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of Canterbury, for that he hath beene bred among your enemies, and his person is altogether unknowne vnto you. Then argues he; That it was not to be imputed vnto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue lived long at Paris, where he so profited in study as he deserved to be Doctor, not onely in the liberall Sciences, but also in Theologie: and his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in Paris. Wherefore hee held it a marueile if a man of so great note, native of England, could be unknowne vnto him, at least in fame, since (saith he) you wrote thrice vnto him after he was by vs preferred to be Cardinall: that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you reioyced that he was exalted to a higher Office, &c.

Then excuses hee the point that the kings consent was not required, in regard that they who should haue required the same affirmed how their letters neuer came to his hands, &c. Although (saith he) in elections celebrated at the Apostolique Sea, the consent of Princes is not to be expected: Yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at Douer, so that they could not performe their message inioyned them: with other allegations to this effect, so that at length, saith hee, wee were disposed to doe what the Canonickall Sanctions ordained to be done, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, that there might be no delay or difficultie in right intentions, lest the Lords flocke should bee long without pastorall cure: and therefore renoked it cannot bee. In conclusion hee vseth these words, As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeavour to giue vs ours according vnto right, that you may more plentifully deserue Gods Grace, and ours, lest if you doe otherwise, you cast your selfe into those difficulties whence you cannot easily get out: Since hee in the end must overcome, to whom all knees bow in Heauen, Earth and Hell; whose Vicegerency heere below (though unworthy) we exercise. Yeelde not therefore to their Counsells, who desire your disturbance, that themselves might fish in troubled Waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your praise, Glory and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repugne against God and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyr and glorious Bishoppe Thomas lately shedde his blood, especially since your Father and brother of eleere memory, late Kings of England, haue in the hands of the Legats of the Apostolique Sea, abinied that impious Custome. Wee, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no preiudice shall arise vnto you heereby. Dated at Lateran the 10. yeare of our Pontificat.

Thus we see how these two mighty powers strue to make good each others prerogatiue, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope vnderstood how the king of England had proceeded against the Church of Canterbury, hee sends presently his Mandate to the Bishop of London, Ely and Worcester, to deale with the king by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole kingdome of England. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a seuer hand vpon him: and with all charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, by vertue of their obedience to receiue for Father the Archbishop Stephan, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enioyned, repaire to the king: Shew the Popes Mandat, and with teares besought him, as he had God before his eyes, to call home the Archbishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury to their Church, and vouchsafe to use them with Honour and Charity, thereby to auoyd the scandall of interdiction, &c.

The king interupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope, and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, That if they or any other should dare to put his Kingdome vnder interdiction, he would presently send all the Clergie of England to the Pope, and confiscat their goods. Besides, if any of Rome were found within any part of his Land, he would cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations. Charging moreouer the Bishops presently to auoyd his presence, as they would auoyd their owne danger.

The Popes
Mandat to the
BB.

King Iohns an-
swer to the BB.

1208.

Anno

Reg. 11.

Of this their ill satisfaction the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole Kingdome of *England* is interdicted: all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children: the dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of *London, Ely, Worcester, Bath* and *Hereford*, secretly get out of the Kingdome.

To answer this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Shriefes, and other his ministers to command all Prelates and their seruants forth-with to depart out of the kingdome; deputes the Bishopricks, Abbayes and Priories into the hands of Lay men, confiscating all their reuenues: but the Prelates themselues get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force; which the officers would not do, hauing no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the kings vse.

Here the Monasticall Writers of that time (by whom onely wee haue notice of these proceedings) aggrauate the rigorous course taken in this businesse, telling vs that religious men, of what order soeuer, found trauailing, were pulled from their horses, robbed, and vily treated by the kings seruants, and none to doe them Iustice. And how the seruants of a Shriefe bringing bound vnto the king a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the king said, *Loose him and let him go, he hath killed our enemy*. But howsoeuer this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so vntied as this was.

The King to prevent the defection of his subiects, which hee dayly doubted would follow vpon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelitie; wherein many of them satisfied the kings will, sending some their sons, some their nephewes, other the nearest of their kinne. *William de Branse* a Noble man being required to deliuer his pledge, his wife preuenting her husbands answer, tells the Commissioners, *That the King should haue none of her sonnes to keepe, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers sonne, Arthur*; for which sodaine, and intemperat speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the kings seruants, told them he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfie the king, without any pledge, according to the iudgement of his Court, or that of his Peers, at any time or place wheresoever.

Vpon the report of this answer the king sends downe priuily to apprehend the Baron, but he hauing notice, or doubting what would follow; fled with his Wife, and Children into *Ireland*; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recouer mercy of the king, is said, to haue sent *Queene Isabel* foure hundred kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end she was there taken with her two sonnes (the husband escaping into *France*) and sent prisoner to the Castle of *Windfor*, where she with her innocent children were famished to death; so deereley paid she, for the offence of her rash tongue.

The king displeased with the *Londoners*, remoued his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great army marches towards *Scotland*, to make warre vpon that king for receiuing his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the king of *Scots* should pay eleuen thousand markes of siluer, and deliuer vp his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning backe, hee caused all inclosures within his forrests to bee laide open, a worke of great griefe to his subiects; whom, though in nothing he sought to satisfie, yet seekes hee what hee may to fasten them in their obedience (whereof loue, and not rigour is the surest bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea euen of children of twelue yeares of age throughout the kingdome.

Two yeares, to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the king, proceedes to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of abscession, which his Predecessor *Alexander*, better aduised, forbore to take, vpon a suggestion of a more haynous act committed by *Henry* the second, vpon the person of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quail the heart of a most vnmaisterable king, put him into more desperate rage with the Clergy, who, notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durst not execute the same for many dayes after,

And

The King takes pledges of his Nobles for their fidelitie.

His cruelty shewed to the wife and children of *W. de Brause*.

The Exchequer remoued to *Northampton*.

King *Iohn* excommunicated.

And first one *Geffery*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, seruing in the kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his assistants, about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated king; and so without leaue retired himselfe home; and was the first subiect of his masters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in fetters in a most streight prison, and afterward, vpon the kings commandement, hee was put into a sheere of lead, wherein, with the waight, and want of victualls he soone perished.

The Archd. of *Norw.* forsakes the Kings seruice; his torture, & death.

This excommunication of the king of *England*, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to bee straines of an vniust nature, especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predomination beyond the bounds allowed vnto piety, which was, onely to deale with mens soules, and not their Estates. For in the aduancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the Election of *Philip*, Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*. And in the vacancie of the Empire had seized vpon certaine pieces in *Italy* appertaining thereunto; which, *Otho* seeking to reuoke, procured vnderferudly the Popes displeasure, who sent vnto him diuers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recouery, as also from that which *Fredericke* king of *Sicile* (who was vnder the tuition of the Apostolike See) had seized vpon.

The Emperour *Otho* excom.

The Emperour, is said to haue answered the Popes Nuncij, in this manner: *If the Pope vniustly desires to vsurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolute me from the Oath he caused me to take at my Coronation; Which was, that I should reuoke whatsoeuer rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperour not yeelding vnto the other, the sentence of Excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germany* as the rest of the *Roman* Empire, are absolved of their fealty vnto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian world, left to the mercy of their subiects; who, though they were, by this meanes, all vntyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme vnto their Soueraigns. For there are so many ligaments in a state that tie it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolue them altogether, vlesse it be by an vniuersall concurrency of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soeuer kings are, but they finde an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this king (the first of *England*, we finde put to this streight) had yet many noble members of power, besides the chiefe officers of the kingdome (whom their places confirme) that stucke vnto him. Whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

And the better to hold his reputation, and his people in action, hauing now no imployment abroad, hee seekes to secure all other members of the Crowne of *England*, which were vnder his dominion. And hauing ranackt great treasure from the Iewes, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, vpon intelligence of some reuolt and disorder there. And at his first arriual, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty vnto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses of the kingdome, kept themselves away, and refused to come. Here to reduce the countrey into better order, he ordaines the same to be gouerned by the Lawes and customes of *England*, causes English money to be coyned there; and to be of equall valew with that of this kingdome; and currant alike in both: With many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were aduicidly begun, would (as wise men deeme) haue serled that kingdome in an intire obedience, and saued all that great toyle, and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now hauing deputed *Iohn Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, hee returnes into *England*, where presuming now vpon his new gathered strength, he summons all the Prelates of the kingdome to appeare before him at *London*; of whom saith *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterling.

1210.

Anno
Reg. 12.

King Iohn reforms Ireland

The Clergy pay to the K.
100000*l.* star.

And the next yeere, beeing the twelfth of his reigne, with this treasure hee reduces

Wales

1211.
Anno
Reg. 13.

Wales (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twentie children of the best families for pledges of their future subiection. Returning thence, exacts of euery knight, that attended not his army in that expedition, two marks; and at *Northampton* is pleased to receiue the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betwene the kingdome and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his kingdome, hee consented that the Archbishop and the Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart vnsatisfied, to the greater prejudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to bee yeelding in any thing, falls to bee more imperious to constrain him to all whatsoever hee desired: And absolues all the Kings subiects of what condition soeuer from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, vnder paine of excommunication, his Board, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding preuailed not to diuert the subiects from the seruice of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, vpon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales*, that makes pillage vpon the Borders, to raise another Army to inuade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before he would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welch*, to bee all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dyed, letters came that gaue him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne destruction; and that if hee went forward in this warre, hee would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected, and heere *Eustace de Vescy*, and *Robert Fitz. Walter*, are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

1213.
Anno
Reg. 15.

The Pope
giues the
Kingdome of
England to the
King of France.

But now the Pope, for the last, and greatest sentence that euer yet was giuen against any Soueraigne King of this kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall gouernment thereof; and writes to the King of France, *That as he looked to haue remission of his sinnes, he should take the charge vpon him, and expel King Iohn out of the Kingdome of England, and possesse the same for him, and his heires for euer.* To the same effect sends he likewise his letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they should ayde the King of France in the deiection of this contumacious King of England, in reuenge of the iniuries done to the Vniuersall Church; granting like remission of their sinnes, as if they undertooke the Holy warre.*

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of France for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King Iohn, then any way to aduance the King of France, whom the Pope desired not to make greater then he was: howsoever, to amuse the world, he made shew to ingage him in this business. For he gaue a secret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, that if vpon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of France for this deiection, hee could worke the King of England to such conditions as he should proponnd; absolution and restorment should bee granted vnto him.

The King of
France assembles
his forces
for England.

King Iohns
preparations
for defence.

The king of France, vpon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions to assemble their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition to assist him in this business, and bee ready, vnder paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeere: preparing likewise a great Nauie for the transportation of these forces into *England*. King Iohn, vpon intelligence hereof sends to all the ports of his kingdome commandement, to haue all shipping whatsoever possible to be made ready with all expedition: summoning likewise all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at *Douer*, presently vpon Easter, furnished with horse, armour, and all military provision to defend him, themselves, and the Kingdome of England against this intended Inuasion, vnder paine of Culuerage, and perpetuall seruitude.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Douer*, *Fewerham*, *Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and prouision to entertaine

certaine them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of vnnecessary men, and onely a choyce referred of the abler sort; which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appoynted for bataille. Besides, so mighty a Nauy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared, King *Iohn* expects his enemies, when secretly, two Knights, Templars, sent by *Pandolphus*, so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, he descends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is presently aduertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the French Kings Army, comes ouer, and so terrifies King *Iohn* with the mighty forces bent against him, and the eminent danger wherein he stood, as he yeeldes to any conditions whatsoever propounded vnto him. And not onely grants restitution and satisfaction of what euer had beene taken from the Archbishop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln* (who were fled to the Archbishop:) but also laies downe his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, the ensignes of his royalty, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, deliuering vp therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and submits himselfe to the iudgement and mercy of the Church.

Two dayes (some wright fixe) it was before the Legat restored him his Crowne: at the receiuing whereof, he swore (and his Earles vndertaking for him) that he and his successors should hold the Kingdome of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*, from the Sea of *Rome*, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of *Siluer*. And this, with his homage and fealty, he confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars, neere *Douer*. The especiall weights that moued King *Iohn* to this extreame lownesse, they of those times, note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, hauing liued fife yeeres excommunicated, to the great deformity of his Kingdome. Secondly, the greatnesse of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Ascension* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter* a Hermit and Southsayer had prophesied, hee should be no more King of *England*. Which, though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his Son, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted diuination.

Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the Kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution, and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergy; of which, eight thousand markes of siluer was presently deliuered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiuing thereof, tramples it vnder his feete, as concerning that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred vpon the transgressor; and returnes with the same into *France*. Where hee declares what had passed in *England*: and forbids the King of *France*, vpon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King *Iohn* had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great inuasion, and full, with hope of victory, receiuing this sodaine, and vnexpected Message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diuerted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extremely discontent, he giues it ouer.

Notwithstanding, for his owne reputation and desire of reuenge, hauing all these great forces on foote, and his navy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would vndertake something to giue satisfaction both to the aduenturers, and his owne people interessed in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his port of *Dam*, vowing that *Flanders* should either be *France*, or *France* *Flanders*. *Ferrand*, seeing this tempest come to light vpon him, sends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, hauing escaped at home the occasion of a defensiu War, to enter into an offensiu abroad, both to imploy this great collected Navy of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismission, without some satisfaction, he knew would breed no safe humor; dispatches fife hundred sayle, with seuen hundred Knights into *Flanders* vnder the conduct of his base brother *William Long-sword* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bolagn*, whom he

K. Iohn deliuer
vp the King-
dome of Eng-
land with his
Crowne to
Pandolphus.

Vide Append.

The causes
that moued K.
Iohn to this act

Pandolphus for-
bids the French
Kings proceed-
ings.

The French K.
sets vpon *Flan*.

he had lately entertained with a pension, being for some demerit driuen out of *France*. And these arriuing at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the *French* Nauy vnorderly disperied, and without defence (their forces going out to inuade the Country) set vpon, and vtterly defeited the same, and afterward ioyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, draue the King of *France* home with great dishonour, and exceeding losse.

King *Iohn* raised with this victory, and his peace with the Church, sets vpon great designes, taking opportunity of this disaster of the King of *France*, whom, in reuenge of his iniury, and hope of recouering his transmarine Dominions, hee plots to assaile on all sides: stirring vp his Nephew *Orto* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an Inuasion on the East part, whilst himselfe with all his power should enter vpon the West. For execution whereof, first hee sends supplies of treasure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then assembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith, hee resolues to passe the Seas,

But his designe contrary to his desire and haste, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refused to ayde or attend him, vnill hee were absolved, and had confirmed vnto them their liberties: wherewith much iraged, seeing no other remedy, he speedily sends for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops, which were yet in *France*, promising them present restitution, and satisfaction, vnder the hands and seales of foure and twenty Earles and Barons, vndertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Bishop and the rest of the exiled Clergy, forth-with come ouer, and finde the King at *Winchester*, where hee goeth forth to meete them; and on his knees, with teares, receiues them, beseeching them to haue compassion on him, and the Kingdom of *England*. Absolved he is with great penitence, and compassion exprest with teares of all the beholders, and sweares vpon the Euangelists, to loue, defend, and maintaine Holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their aduersaries to the vttermost of his power: That he would reuoke the good Lawes of his Predecessors, and especially those of King *Edward*, abrogating such as were vniust: Iudge all his subiects according to the iust iudgement of his Court: That presently vpon Easter next following he would make plenarie satisfaction of whatsoener had beene taken from the Church.

Which done, he returnes to *Portsmouth*, with intention to passe ouer into *France*, committing the gouernment of the Kingdom to *Geffrey Fitz Peter*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, with charge that they should order all businesse, together with the Councell of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

And here a numerous company of souldiers repairing to him, complayned that by their long attendance their money was spent, so that they could not follow him vnlesse they might be supplied out of his Exchequer: which the King refusing to doe, in a great rage, with his priuate family, takes ship, and puts forth to the Isle of *Iersey*; but seeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (hauing lost the opportunity of the season) to returne into *England*; where hee gathers an Army, with intention to chastise the Lords who had thus forsaken him. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* followes him to *Northampton*, Praying that it was against his Oath taken at his absolution, to proceed in that manner against any man; without the iudgement of his Court. To whom the King in great passion replied; That hee would not deferre the businesse of the Kingdom for his pleasure, seeing Lay iudgements appertained not vnto him: and so in fury marches to *Notingham*.

The Archbishop followes him, and plainly told him, that vnlesse he would desist from this businesse, he would excommunicate all such, as should take armes against any, before the releasing of the interdiction; and would not leaue him, vnill hee had obtained a conuenient day for the Lords to come to his Court, which shortly after they did, and a Parliament is assembled in *Pauls*, wherein the Archbishop of *Canterbury* produces a Charter of King *Henry* the first, whereby hee granted the ancient liberties of the Kingdom of *England* (which had by his Predecessors beene opprest with vniust exactions) according to the Lawes of King *Edward*, with those emendations which his father, by the Councell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter beeing read before

The Nobility
refuse to ayde
King Iohn.

1214.

Anno
Reg. 16.

The Archbish.
threatens to
excommunicate
the King.

This Charter
is recorded in
Mat. Par. with
testes of the
Subscribers.

before the Barons they much reioyced, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties they would if neede required, spend their blood. And therewithall, concluding a confederation with the Archbishop, the Parliament brake vp.

Shortly after dies, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, Iusticiar of *England*, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the lawes, and skilfull in gouernment. Who in that broken time, onely held vncrafed, performing the part of an etien Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and Kingdome; whom though the King most vsed, he most feared, and least loued, as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose grauity and iudgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, reioycing sayd, Now when he comes into hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall finde there. And turning to those about him, swore by the feete of God, that now at length he was King, and Lord of *England*, hauing a freer power to vnty himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, vnto which he repented to haue euer condescended. And to shew the desperate malice of this King (who, rather then not to haue an absolute domination ouer his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Ambassage (the most base & impious that euer yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) vnto *Miramumalim* the Moore, intituled the great King of *Affrica*, *Morocco*, and *Spaine*, wherein he offered to render vnto him his Kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his soueraigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian faith (which he held vaine,) and receiue that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Comissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz Nichols*, Knights, and *Robert* of *London* Clarke. The manner of their accessse to this great King is related, with the deliery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charrer to that effect: and how *Miramumalim* hauing heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and Kingdome with the nature and disposition of the people, so much disdaind the basenesse, and impiety of the offerer, as with scorne hee commanded his ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to vnderstand some more particulars of the madnes of this King of *England*, hee called for *Robert* the Clarke, and had private conference with him apart, about many particulars which hee himselfe reuealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew* the Monke of *Saint Albans*, who wrote and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, blacke, one arme shorter then another, two fingers vnnaturally growing together, of visage like a Jew, &c. which relation we are not vtterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that grauity and credit, and living so neere those times, though to vs that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some part; yet if we consider whereto the desperate violence of this King, (who had made vtter wracke of conscience; and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likelihood, to haue had this dealing with an heathen King (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that euer the *Moors* had in *Spaine*) which might either be to hold amity with him, or entertaine him otherwise for his owne ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, we may in charity forbear to make it a part of ours. Although this relator giues vs a note (amongst other which hee suppress) that poynted at the irreligion of this King, who at the opening of a fat Stag, ieaustingly said, See how prosperously this beast hath liued, and yet neuer heard Masse. Which skoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, fauoured of an impiety, vnfitting the mouth of a religious King, and gaue scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoeuer comes from the mouth of Princes; which may warne them to be wary what they vter in publique.

Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meum eam emendauit.

Vide Append.

Mat. Par.

Miramumalim scornes the Message of K. Iohn.

A note of the Kings irreligion.

But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the overthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed) King *Iohn* sets vpon another course; assailes Pope *Innocentius* (prone to be wrought by gifts to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subiection, which shortly after he confirms by a new oath, and a new Charter before

King Iohn
bribes the Pope
and renews
his oath.

The interdiction
released.

1214.

Anno
Reg. 16.

Vide Append.

The famous
bataille of
Bouines.

The death of
the Emp. Ottho.

K. Iohn takes
vpon him the
croffe to se-
cure himse-
lf from the Ba-
rons.

before the Popes Legat the Bishop of *Tusculum*, sent ouer for the same purpose, and with full authority to compose the dissensions betwene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in diuers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King vpon account already, had payd twenty seauen thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were vndertaken by Sureties to bee answered by a certaine daie.

And hereupon is the Interdiction released, hauing continued fixe yeares, three moneths, and fourteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church, and Churchmen, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repaire to the Legat for satisfaction of damages receiued by the Kings ministers during this interdiction. To whom the Legat answeres: That it was not in his commission to deale for restitution to bee made vnto them all, but aduises them to complaine to the Pope, and craue of him plenary iustice. Whereupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legats proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining onely to please the King: Who now is recommended to Rome for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacy vsed towards him.

The King hauing referred the ending of all this controuersie to the Legat, and some other of his owne ministers (being assured of the Popes fauour) was now gone into *Poitou*, to assaile (according to his former designe) the King of *France* on that side: whilst his forces with those of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, invaded him on the other. And being with his Queene, landed at *Roche*, many principall Barons of *Poitou* (apt to promise then performe their faith) came and swore fealty vnto him: With whom he marches forward into the Country, recouers many Castles and peeces of importance: Whereof particularly by his owne letters from *Parthenai* he certifies his Iustices of the Exchequer. And withall shewes them how hee had graunted to the Son of the Earle of *March*, his daughter *Joan* in marriage (though, sayd he, the King of *France* desired her for his Son, but fraudulently, &c.

After this he goes into Brittain, takes in the city of *Nantes*, prepares to incounter with *Louys* the French Kings Son, who was come downe with a mighty army to oppose his proceeding. But the *Poitouins* distrusting his power, or he them (hauing discovered the forces of the Enemy) refused to fight: Whereupon the King of *England* to his extreame griefe, forsooke the field, and made a dishonorable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces in *Flanders* had far worse successe; for the King of *France* with all the power he could possibly make, incounters them at the bridge of *Bouines*, and ouerthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole army of the confederates, wherein are reported to haue beene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the bataille, slaine a thousand five hundred Knights, and taken prisoners, *Ferrand* the Earle of *Flanders*, the Eates of *Salisbury*, and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales* of *Flanders*,) the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lamburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg*: the Emperour *Otho* 4. hardly escaped, and liued not long after.

Vpon these misfortunes, and fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempered King, the Barons of *England* assemble themselves at *S. Edmondsbury*, where they confer of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, and swore vpon the high Altar, that if King *Iohn* refused to confirme and restore vnto them those liberties (the rights of the Kingdome) they would make war vpon him vntill he had satisfied them therein: and further agreed that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time provide themselves of horse and furniture, to be ready if the King should start from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his absolution, for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demand. After Christmas they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, vrging their desire with great vehemency: the King, seeing their resolution, and inclination to war, made answer, *That for the matter they required hee would take consideration till after Easter next: and in the meane time, he tooke vpon him the croffe* (rather, as is sayd, through feare then deuotion.)

denotion) supposing himselfe to bee more safe vnder that protection. But the Lords continuing their resolution, fore-seeing nothing was to be obtained but by strong hand, assemblen an Army at *Stamford*, wherein are said to bee two thousand Knights, besides Esquires with those that serued on foote: and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their comming, according to the appointed time, for answere to their demaunds. And being come to *Brackly* with their Army, he King sends the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *William Earle of Pembroke* Marefchall, with other graue Councillors, to demaund of them, what were those Lawes, and Liberties they required, to whom they shewed a Schedule of them, which the Commissioners deliuer to the King, who hauing heard them read, in great indignation asked why the Barons did not likewise demand the Kingdome, and swore that he would neuer grant those liberties whereby himselfe should be made a seruant. So harsh a thing is it to a powre that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not considering how they who inherit Offices succeed in the obligation of them, and that the most certaine meanes to preferue vnto a King his Kingdomes, is to possesse them with the same conditions that he hath inherited them.

The Barons vpon this answere, being as hasty as he was auers, resolute to seize on his Castles, and presently march towards *Northampton*, which they besiege, constituting *Robert Fitz Walter* their General, intituling him the Marefchall of the army of God, and holy Church. And after they assaile the Castle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendering his charge, receiues them: and the Londoners send thither priue messager to ioyne with them, and deliuer vp the City to be garded by their discretion.

And thither they repaire, and are ioyfully receiued, vnder pact of their indemnity, where daily increasing in number of new Confederats, they make their protestation, neuer to giue over the prosecution of their desire, till they had constrayned the King (whom they held periured) to grant them their Rights.

King *Iohn* seeing himselfe, in a manner generally forsaken, hauing scarce seven Knights faithfull vnto him, counterfeits the seales of the B. B. and writes in their names to all nations that the English were all Apostats, and whosoever would come to inuade them, he, by the Popes consent, would confer vpon them all their Lands, & possessions. But this deuise working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, and the powre of the Kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Marefchall and others, and a Parle is had betweene *Windfor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow called *Running-mead* (a place anciently vsed for such Conferences) where after many meetings, and much debate, the King freely consented, for the glory of God, and commendation of the Kingdome, to confirme those Lawes, and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordayned by *Hen. 1.*

And to the end that all discord should vtterly cease, he grants for the intire and firme enioying these Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner. That there should be five and twenty Barons chosen of the Kingdome, such as they would, who should, to their utmost power cause the same to be held, and obserued. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Iusticiar should transgresse in any Article of those Lawes, and the offence shewed. Foure Barons of the five and twenty should come to the King, or in his absence out of the Kingdome, to his chiefe Iusticiar, and declare the excesse, requiring without delay, redresse for the same: which if not made, within the space of forty dayes after such declaration; those foure Barons should referre the cause to the rest of the five and twenty, who with the Commons of the Land might destrain, and enforce him by all meanes they could (viz. by seizing vpon his Castles, Lands and Possessions, or other goods) (his person excepted, and that of his Queene and Children) till amends should be made, according to their arbitration. And that whosoever would, should take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandment of the five and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them dissented, or could not assemble, the maior part to haue the same power of proceeding. Besides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Castles of *Northampton*, *Kenelworth*, *Notingham*, and *Scarborough*, should be sworne to obey the commandment of the Five and twenty Barons; or the maior part of them, in whatsoeuer they thought good concerning those Castles. Wherein none

The resolution of the Barons assembling their army at *Stamford*.

A Schedule of the demaunds of the Lords.

The Lords seize on the kings Castles.

The Lords repaire to London.

King *Iohn* forsaken of his people.

The Earle Marefchall & other mediate a reconciliation.

A Parliament for restoring the Rights & Liberties of the kingdome.

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King *Iohn*.

vide Append.

should bee placed but such as were faithfull, and would obserue their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof diuers are expressely nominated should bee mooned out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon graunted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both sides, in solempne manner, for the inuolable obseruing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his letters Patents to all the Shrieves of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soeuer, within their seuerall Shires, to sweare to obserue those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215.

Anno.

Reg. 17

King Iohn by
euill counsell
frustrates his
owne Grants.

And in this manner (though it were to bee wished, it had not beene in this manner) were recovered the rights of the Kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to haue now the *Liuerie* they had not the *Seisin*. For presently the King being loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, vnlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who obseruing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently vpon that side; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity then otherwise they could, of his orderly courses: telling him he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a subiect to his Subiects. Wicked counsellors, as if it were not enough, to be about men, but to be about mankind, as those Princes would be, that would be vnder the Law; considering the preferuation of Kings and Kingdomes is to haue the ballance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsaillors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deserves to be deceiued in his executions, who vnderstands nor, as well the Counsaillors, as the Councell.

Retires into
the Isle of
Wight and
writes to the
Pope.
The Pope
excommunicates
the Barons.

Resolved he is (giuen ouer to confusion, and reuenge) to dissolue this tye, and priuily withdraws himselfe into the Isle of *Wight*, from whence he sends his Agents to *Rome* (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforced act to the Pope, who by a definitiue Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in, and about the City of *London*; and there vnder colour of Turnements and exercise of armes, inuite those who were abroad to resort vnto them, and so retaine themselves together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, either by surprize of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily haue done, or vsing meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him those Limbes of his powre that might worke to offend them.

The error of
the Barrons.

But this must either argue that their end was onely to haue (but what they had obtained) the restitution of the Liberties of the Kingdome (which though thus recovered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or else their negligence; which may be thought strange in those wakefull and actiue times, to be such, as to leaue a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially remoued to a place, where the Sea being open vnto him, his out-sendings might be without view or noting: vnlesse either they presumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

The King
sends to leuy
forraine forces.

But during this his retyre in the Isle, which was three moneths, he slackes no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to *Rome*, sends the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and others with his seale, to procure him forraine forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appointing them to make their repaire to *Douer* about *Michaelmas* next. In the mean time, without any royall shew or stir (attended with some borrowed seruants of the Bishop of *Norwich*, & marriners of the Cinke-ports, who he entertained) he, as they write, fell to piracy & exercised himselfe at sea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land: some giuing out, that he was turned Fisher, some a Merchant, others a Pirate. But at the time appointed he meetes at *Douer* with those forraine forces, drawne together out of *Poictou* and *Gascogne*, vnder the Conduct of *Sanarie de Malton*, *Geffrey* and *Oliuer Butenile* brothers: with others out of *Louaine*, and *Brabant*, vnder *Walter Buck*, *Gerrard Sotin*, and *Godshall*, all desperate aduenturers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home, easily drew them to any mischiefs abroad; &

He meetes
with them at
Douer.

with

with these is King Iohn furnished to set vpon his owne people. And, had not *Hugh de Boues* (to whom the Countreies of Suffolk, and Norfolk were allotted for seruice to be done) setting forth from *Calice* with 40. thousand more (men women and children) beene by sodaine tempest drowned in the Sea, hee had made an vniuersall Conquest of the Kingdome, far more miserable then the *Norman*; considering that with those hee had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently he did.

Hugh de Boues with forty thousand men &c. comming out of Flanders drowned.

The King in halfe a yeare recouers all his Castles.

1216.

Anno.

Reg. 18

King Iohn at Saint Albons deuides his army in two parts.

The Barons sollicite *Louys* the French Kings sonne, to take vpon him the Crowne of England.

The Pope writes to diuert *Louys* from the enterprise.

Quarter Vigin. Cogen.

Louys lands in Kent 21 of May.

For, after he had recovered the Castle of *Rocheſter* which *William de Albini*, with memorable courage, held out three monthes against all that mightie power of his (the Barons not able or not aduenturing to succour him) hee marched ouer the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons euen to the borders of *Scotland*, and was absolute Maister of all *England* except the Citie of *London*, on which hee forbore to aduenture, in regard of the close vnitied power of the Barons that resolutely held and vowed to dye together: and separate them hee could not, and therefore from *Rocheſter* he marches to Saint *Albans*, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

And heere hee deuides his Army (consisting most of rauinous strangers) in two parts: appoynting his brother *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, with *Falscius*, *Sauarie de Malleon* leader of the *Poictouins*, *Briwer*, and *Buc* of the *Flemings* & *Brabantines*, to gard the Countreies and Castles about the Citie of *London*, to cut off all prouisions, and annoy the Barons by all means possible: himselfe with the other part of his forces draws Northward, and layes waste all the Countreies before him, and both these Armies set onely vpon destruction, inflict all those calamities, that the rage of a disorderly war could commit, vpon a miserable people that made no head at all against them.

All Countreies suffer in this affliction, and King Iohn marching as farre as *Berwike*, had purposed to haue carryed it farther (threatning *Alexander* King of *Scots* that hee would hunt the *Foxe* to his hole, alluding to his red haire) had he not beene called from that attempt to come backe to these parts vpon discouery of new designs practised by the Barons, who seeing themselves deprived of their Estates (giuen away to Strangers) their wiues and daughters violated, all their substance consumed, desperately fall vpon an other extreme, making out for succour to *Louys* the French Kings sonne, soliciting him to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*, wherein they promised by their free Election to inuest him, and to send pledges for the performance thereof, beeing perswaded that those forces of the *French*, which King Iohn had entertayned, would vpon the comming of those aydes from the King of *France*, being their Soueraigne, forsake him. This message is entertayned, a Parliament is called at *Lions* by King *Philip* the father of *Louys*, the businesse consulted, and resolved vpon. *Louys*, besides the assurance made of this proffered election, relies vpon a title which he claymes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Sister of King Iohn, and writes to the Barons that hee would shortly send them succour, and not be long behinde to be with them in person.

The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope who presently sends his Agent to the King of *France* with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his sonne to invade or disquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard hee was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominion, appertayning thereunto. The King of *France* answeres, that the Kingdome of *England*, neuer was, nor is, or euer shall be the patrimony of Saint Peter, and that King Iohn was neuer lawfull King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited the same by the murder of *Arthur*, for which he was condemned in his Court, neither could he giue away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would bee a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.

Here with the Popes Agent departs vnſatisfied, *Louys* hauing first dispatched Commissioners to *Rome* to declare his right & iustifie his vndertaking, sets forth from *Calice* with 600. ships, and 80. other vessell, and Lands with his Army at *Sandwich*. King Iohn attends him at *Douer* with purpose to encounter him at his landing, but vpon notice of his great power, and distrustling the faith of his mercenaries, hauing committed the keeping of the Castle of *Douer* to *Hubert de Burgh*, forsakes the field (and with it him-

The little effect the Popes Excommunication wrought.

himselfe) retires first to *Winchester*, after to *Glocester*, and leaues all to the will of his enemy *Louys*: who after he had obtayned the submission of all *Kent* (except the Castle of *Douer* which he neuer could get) he comes to *London*, where he is ioyfully receiued of the Barons, and vpon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes, and recover their rights, hath homage and fealty done him as the Soueraigne Lord: thither came likewise the Earles *Warren*, *Arundle*, *Salisbury*, *William Mareſhall* the yonger with many other (forsaking King *Iohn*) and rendred themselves vnto him.

Guallo the Popes Agent (notwithstanding the sword was out in all the way of his passage) got to *Glocester*, shewes King *Iohn* the Popes care of him, and in solemne manner pronounces the sentence of Excommunication against *Louys* and all that tooke part with him, which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet it tooke little or nothing from the enemy: neither could it so confirme his mercenaries, but that most of them left him, and either returned home into their Countries with such spoiles as they had, or betooke themselves to this new commer. King *Iohn* was not yet so forsaken, but that he had power enough remaining, to infect, though not incounter his enemies, and faith he found abroad amongst many of his Ministers that well defended their charge. *Douer* Castle with a small company holds out, against all the force that *Louys* could bring against it. *Windſor* Castle garded but with 60. men could not be won with all the power of the Barons; some other peeces, as *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* Castles made very resolute resistance. But nothing is effected, saue the ruine of the Country.

The death of King *Iohn*.

The most yeelding and fertill parts of the Kingdome as about *Glocester*, the marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and all about *London*, at the Stages of this warre, and here they act their mischiefs, which continued all that Sommer: And about the latter end of October, a burning fiuer makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him vpon an extreme griefe conceiued for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Wishes* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abbay of *Swineshead*, from whence in great weakenes he is conuayed to *Newarke*, where, after he had receiued the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, hee departs this life, hauing reigned 18. years, five monthes, and foure daies.

Mat. Par.

The Abbot of *Crookeſton*, a man skilfull in phyſicke and at that time the Kings Phyſition disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would haue giuen notice, to the world had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) beene poysoned by a Monke of *Swineshead* Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howſoeuer his death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subiect as their euill Subiects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamorous Pen, witnesse this Disticque.

*Anglia sicut adhuc sordet favore Iohannis,
Sordida fedatur ſedante Iohanne Gehenna.*

His issue.

He had issue by his wife *Iſabel* (daughter to *Amyer* Earle of *Angoſme*) two sonnes *Henry* and *Richard*, also three daughters *Ioane*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabel*.

Iohn Speed.

Henry succeeded him in the Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry*, and *Iohn* that dyed without issue, also *Edward* Earle of *Cornwall* and others.

Ioane the eldest daughter (married to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*) dyed without issue.

Eleanor the second daughter (married to *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*) had issue *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slaine without issue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earle of *Angleria*, in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*: and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remaining priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Ancestor of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Eleanor* borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*.

Iſabell

Isabel their youngest daughter (married to the Emperour *Frederic* the 2.) had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicile*, & *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, Landgraue, *Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after shee had bene Emperesse sixe yeares. He had also two naturall sonnes, *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that transported souldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his father to goe thither: *Richard* (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Douer* (who built *Childham* Castle) had issue by her, of which some families of good esteeme are descended.

Likewise one naturall Daughter *Ioane* married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of King *Iohn*.

The Life, and Raigne of Henry the third.



HE death of King *Iohn*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable busineses of the Kingdome: for *Louys*, notwithstanding held his hopes, and his party though much shaken by the sodaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldest sonne to King *Iohn*, solemnized in a great Assembly of State at *Glocester* the 28. of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the maine Pillar of the father, and now the preserver of the Crowne to his sonne, a man eminent both in courage and counsell, who with *Guallo* the Popes Legat the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bathe*, and *Worcester* worke all means to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King from this excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the minds of most of them doubtfull what to resolve vpon, in regard of the tender youth of *Henry*, and their Oath made to *Louys*.

But such was the insolence of the *French*, making spoyle and prey of whatsoever they could fasten on (and now inuented by *Louys*, contrary to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recovered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelity, and forsake his part. Which more of them would haue done, but for the shame of inconstancy, and the daunger of their pledges, remayning in *France*, which were great ties vpon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscount *Melun* a French man, who, lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is said to reueale the intention, and vow of *Louys* (which was vtterly to extinguish the English nation, whom he held vile, and neuer to be trusted, hauing forsaken their owne Soueraign Lord) wrought a great auersion in the hearts of the English, which whether it were indeed vttered, or giuen out of purpose, it was so to be expected, according to the precedents of all in-bought farreiners vpon the deuisions of a distracted people.

And first *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, mooued in blood to succour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the side of *Louys*, and with him the Earles of *Arundle*, *Warren*, *William*, sonne and heire to the great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of *Henry*, after 6. months they had revolted to the seruice of *Louys*, which now may be thought was done but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game, otherwise a brother would not haue forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a father, and sonne haue deuided their starres.

Notwithstanding *Louys* found hands enough to hold *London*, withall the Countries about it a whole yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about *Glocester*, *Worcester*, and *Bristow*, where his wakefull Ministers faile not to imploy all means to gather vpon whatsoever aduantages could be espied, and at length so wrought as they draw the enemy from the head of the kingdome downe into the body, first into *Leceister shiere* to releue the castle of *Montfort*, a piece appertaining to *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Winchester*, a great partisan of *Louys*, and after by degrees to *Lincoln*, where a Noble Lady, called *Phillippa* (but of what family, time hath iniuriously bereft vs the knowledge) had, more then with feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yere, against *Gilbert de Gam*, & the French forces which were posselt of the town.

1216.

Anno.

Reg. I.

Hen 3. the 3.
Crowned at
Glocester.

The confession
of the Vis-
count *Melun* at
his death.

Diners Lords
revolt from
Louys.

The forces of
Louys over-
throwne.

The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and kingdome, with his sonne *William*: the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury* and *Chester*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*. *William de Albini*, *John Marshall*, *William de Cantelupe*. *Falcasius*, *Thomas Bassett*, *Robert Veypont*, *Brent de Lisle*, *Geffrey Lucy*, *Philip de Albini*, and many other Barons, and marshall men, being with all the power of the young king (whose forces as he marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called *Stow* within 8. miles of *Lincoln*, the Legat *Guallo* (to adde courage and resolution to the army) caused vpon confession of their sins, the Eucharist to be ministred and giues them a plenary absolution, solemnly accursing *Louys* with all his adherents, as separated from the vnity of the Church, which done, they set forth, and with such violence assaile the City on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perch*, valiantly fighting, was slaine) were soone desited, and all the principall men taken prisoners, whereof these are nominated: *Saer* Earle of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun*, Earle of *Hertford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earle of *Lincoln* by *Louys*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Kichard Monfichet*, *William Monbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudit*, *Oliuer Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressy*, *William de Coleuile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropsley*, *Ralph Chanduit* Barons, besides foure hundred Knights or men at Armes, with their seruants, horse and foot. The number and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatnesse of the victory, which gaue *Louys* his maine blow, and was the last of his battailes in *England*.

The spoyle of
Lincolne.

The spoyles were very great being of a City, at that time rich in Marchandize, whereupon the winners (in derision) tearmed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this ouerthrow; were slaine by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards *London*, vnto *Louys*, who vpon notice of this great defeat, sends presently ouer for succours into *France*, and drawes all the power hec had in *England*, to the City of *London*; whether the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose eyther to assaile *Louys* vpon this fresh dismay of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first being found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not bee brought to yeeld, vntill hearing how his succors comming out of *France*, were by *Philip de Albemie*, and *Hubert de Burgh* with the forces of the Cinke-ports all vanquished at sea; hee then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safety, condiscends to an accord: takes fiftene thousand markes for his voyage: abiures his claime to the Kingdome: promises by Oath to worke his father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such Prouinces in *France*, as appertayned to this Crowne; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

The peace
was conclu-
ded the 11.
of Sep.

1218.

Anno.

Reg. 3.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Protector, to restore vnto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subiects, all their rights and heritages, with those liberties for which the discord beganne betweene the late King, and his people. Generall pardon is granted, and all prisoners freed on both sides: *Louys* is honorably attended to *Douer*, and departs out of *England* about *Michelmas*: about two yeares after his first ariual, hauing bene here, in the greatest part, a receiued King, and was more likely to haue established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) then the *Norman* that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diuerted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an vnruely King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the fathers iniquity, most willingly imbrace the sonne, as naturally inclyned to loue, and obey their Princes.

1219.

Anno.

Reg. 4.

And in this recovery, the industry of *Guallo* the Legate wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had bene first an especiall cause of this great combustion in the Kingdome, but as they who worke the greatest mischiefs, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thanks. The Legat was well payed for his pains, and, notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelue thousand Markes with him to *Rome*.

But thus the long afflicted state beganne to haue some peace, and yet with many distem-

distemperatures at the first, ere those virulent humours which the warre had bred were otherwise diuerted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, either vn-satisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themselves and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, surprizing of Castles, and making spoyles in the Country, as the Earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veypont, Foulke de Brent, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Bailioll, with many other, but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the warre must nurse whom it had bred, an action is vnder-taken for the Holy Land, whither Ralph Earle of Chester, Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, William de Albey Earle of Arundle, Robert Fitz Walter, William de Harcourt, with many other, are sent with great forces: besides to vnburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, vnlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to auoyde the Land, and all meanes vsed for the regaining the ability it had lost.

And no sooner had this prouident Protector the Earle of Pembroke settled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regrate of the Kingdome; leauing behind him a most Noble memory of his actiue worth, and is to bee numbred amongst the examples of the best of men, to shew how much the Wisedome and Valour of a Potent Subject may steed a distracted State in time of danger.

The Bishop of Winchester (imparting the charge with many other great Councillors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *An. Reg. 4.* is againe Crowned, and the next yeere after hath by Parliament graunted for Escuage two markes of Silver of euery Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recouery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and Malleon de Sauerie the Poitouine with William Longsword Earle of Salisbury sent ouer into Guien to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of France is required to make restitution of what he had vsurped, but returns answer; *that what hee had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, hee would holde.*

To retaine amity with Scotland, and peace at home, Ioan, the Kings Sister is giuen in marriage to Alexander King of Scots, and Margueret, sister to the same King, to Hubert de Burgh, now made Iusticiar of England, and the especiall man who guided the greatestt affaires of the Kingdome. Wales, reuolting vnder their Prince Llewelin, gaue occasion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings raigne, and long after, till it was wholly subdued. And a commotion in Ireland, made by Hugh Lacy, is appeased by William Earle of Pembroke, sonne to the late great Marshall, and some few yeeres after hath the Kingdome a kinde of quietnesse, sauing that Falcassius (or Foulke de Brent) with certaine Chatelains (the dregs of war) fortifying the Castle of Bedford, with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gaue occasion of businesse till they were gotten by hard assault.

But now, the King being come to some yeeres of vnderstanding, was, in a Parliament holden at London, put in minde by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, vpon the peace which Louys for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the warre began with his father, and being the maine base whereon his owne good, & that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall asunder; they would haue him to know it betime, to auoyde those miserable inconueniences which the disynion of Rule and Obedience might bring vpon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall euer finde mouthes to expresse their pleasures in what course soeuer they take) by some Ministers of his (amongst whom one William Brewer a Councillor is named) who vrged it to haue beene an Acte of constraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to bee ratified, and twelue Knights, or other Legall men of euery Shire, by Writs charged to examine what were the lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enioyed vnder his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day, and so by that vsuall shift of Prolongation, the businesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his raigne of fixe and fifty yeeres (the longest of any King of England) this put

The death of the Protector Earle Marshall.

The King againe crowned. 1 Parliament.

1220.
Anno.
Reg. 5.

1221.
Anno.
Reg. 6.

1222.
Anno.
Reg. 7.
2 Parliament.

put him to the greatest imbroylement, made him ill beloued of his people) euer croft in his intendements) and farre a lesse King, onely by struiuing to be more then he was : the iust reward of violations. And euen this first pause, vpon the lawfull requisition therof, turned the blood, & shew'd how sensible the state was, in the least stoppage of that tender vaine : For, presently the Earles of *Chester*, & *Albimarle* with many other great men assemble at *Lecester* with intent to remooue from the K *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iusticiar and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by his spirituall power, and the rest of the Nobility, more carefull to preserue the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would not suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrained to come in, and submit themselves. And here the King by Parliament resumes such alienations as had bin made by his Ancestors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby hee might haue the more meanes of his owne without pressing his subiect ; but this serued not his turne.

Resumptions.

1223.

Anno.

Reg. 8.

3 Parliament.

The next yeere after another Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all moouables both of the Clergy and Layetie, for the recovery of those parts in *France* withheld from this Crowne by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath & promise made here in England at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (being the inheritance of the King, and the estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subiects, who had lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubt, they desired to recover with their utmost means; yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subsidy but vpon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end they obtained, in the same words and forme as King *Iohn* had granted them in the two Charters before.

Disforesta-
tions.

And twelue Knights or Legall men are chosen in euery shire, vpon their Oath, to disparte the old Forests from the new : and all such as were found to haue beene inforested since the first coronation of *Henry* the second to be disafforested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to possesse them. Whereupon they were laid open, plowed, and improued to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the subiect, whereby men, in steed of wild beasts, were sustained, and more roome made for them to vse their industry.

1225.

Anno.

Reg. 10

4 Parliament.

Two yeeres with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a state) these liberties were inioyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome; cancels, and annuls the Charter of Forests, as graunted in his Nonage, hauing no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity : and causes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy, and all others, if they would enioy those liberties, should renew their Charters, and haue them confirmed vnder his new Seale : for which, they were constrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is laid the blame of this mischief, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and bred a new insurrection of the Nobility, who, taking aduantage vpon a breach lately faine out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall* (about the Castle of *Barkhamsted* appertaining to that Earledome, which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran* a Dutchman) ioyned with the Earle, and put themselves in armes. For the King maintayning the cause of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Castle which he had taken from him ; or else to depart the Kingdome.

The reuoking
the Charters
of Forrefts
which bred a
new insurre-
ction.

The Earle answers that he would neither do the one or the other: without the iudgement of his Peeres ; and so departs to his lodging, leauing the King much displeased with this answer. The chiefe Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, aduises the King suddenly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custody, but the Earle either through notice, or doubt thereof, flies presently to *Marleborough*, where he finds *William* Earle *Mareshall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom he hastes to *Stamford*, and theremeets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with diuers Barons, and men at armes : from whence they send to the King aduising him to right the iniury done to his brother. The cause hereof, they impute

to

to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himselfe, besides they require restitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

The King, to auoyde this danger, appoints them a day to come to an assembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded: and to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring vnto him his Castle) hee grants him all that his mother had in dowre, and whatsoeuer land the Earle of *Brittane* held in *England*, with those of the Earle of *Bologn* lately deceased, and so the Parliament brake vp. After this the generall motion for the holy wars intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that credulous word as sixety thousand sufficient men, are reported to haue vnderaken that voyage: of whom *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William* Bishop of *Excester* are the leaders.

The King is solicited by *Hugh le Brun* Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come ouer into *France* to recouer his right, vpon the great alterations happening in those parts by this occasion.

Louys the eight (who succeded *Philip* the second) being lately dead, after his great siege of *Auignon*, and his warres made against the Heretickes *Albigensis* in Prouince, leaues the Kingdome to his sonne *Louys* of the age of twelue yeeres, in whose minority his mother *Blanch*, taking vpon her the Regency, so discontented the Princes of the blood, as they oppose themselves against her, holding it both dishonourable and dangerous, that a woman and a stranger by the Councell of *Spaniards* (whom shee aduanced aboute the Naturals of the Kingdome) should gouerne all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Philip* Earle of *Bologne*, vnckle by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter* de *Dreux* Duke of *Britaigne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queen regent had erected the country of *Poitou* to a County, and made Earle thereof *Alphonso* her Sonne, brother to the yong king, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, he refuses to acknowledge *Alphonso* for Lord: infligated thereunto by his wife, a Queene Dowager of *England*, who could not conport a superior so neere her doore, in so much as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lusignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also, presuming vpon the greatnesse of his house descended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Britaigne* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great sums of the Clergy, of the City of *London* for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Iewes, passes ouer with an Army, lands at *S. Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earle of *Britaigne* doe homage vnto him, and great preparations are made to recouer such peeces as had beene obtained by the late King of *France*.

The Queene Regent sets out a powerfull Army to stop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much mischief is wrought on both sides in *Poitou* *Xaintonges*, *Angoumois*, where their friends and enemies suffer all alike. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their trauaile, both weary of the busines, either a peace, or truce concluded.

The King of *England* besides an infinite expence of treasure hauing lost diuers of his Nobles and other valiant men in the iourney, without any glory retournes home, bringing with him the Earle of *Britaigne* and many *Poitouins* to receiue their promised reward, which, notwithstanding all the former expence must be wrung out of the substance of the poore subiect of *England*.

Vpon his retorne hee intertaines a purpose of marriage with a Sister of the King of *Scots*, against which, the Earles, and Barons of *England* generally oppose; alleging it to be vnfit that he should haue the yonger Sister, when *Hulert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had married the eldest: and the Earle of *Britaigne*, by whose Councell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he giues fise thousand markes, as if remaying of the summe hee had promised. And for the rest of the *Poitouins*, their preferments and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receiuiors, and others whom now he calles to accompt, and castes for defrauding him in

1226.

Anno.

Reg. II.

5. Parliament.

1227.

Anno.

Reg. 12.

French Hist.

The king calls his officers to accompt.

1228.
Anno.
Reg. 13.

in their offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasuror of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grievously fined : then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all vnder him in a place euer obnoxious to detraction and enuy) is called to account for such treasure as passed his office (which was then for all reliefes, and Subsidies whatsoever raysted on the subiect) and, notwithstanding he had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of treason.

No sooner was this great officer, and inward Councillor false into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volley of accusations (which feare in time of fauour held in) were discharged vpon him, and euery act of his examined, and vrged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* laies to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constance* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrastling in *Saint James* fields. Anno Reg. 4.) as done without warrant and law, and craue Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to auoyde this sodaine storme comming vpon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, whence, by armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priuiledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Dioces it was, complains, and so wrought that he is brought back againe to the same Chappel. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who giues strict commandement to the Shrieues of *Harford* and *Sussex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away he is sent prisoner to the *Viue*, his money left in the custody of the *Templars*, is brought forth, and seized into the Kings hands; clayming that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Steuens de Segraue* is put into his office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaines by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* is likewise thrust out of his office of Treasuror, and *William Rodon* Knight, of his place of Marshall of the Kings house, and all the chiefe Councillors, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are remoued as distrusted, and only strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the Holy Warres to be the Authour of most unholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Rivalis*, now the speciall minion about the King.

The King remoues his officers.

These straines of so strange and insufferably violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall, vpon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselues for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shew the King his error, and ill aduised course, inferring strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their lawes and liberties, and that vnesse he would reforme this excessse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, hee and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselues from his Councell, whereunto the Bishop of *Winchester* replies : that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers hee listed about him for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud, and rebellious subiects to their due obedience. With which answer the Earle, and the rest, depart with more indignation : vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their liues.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the K.

Hereupon the King suddenly sends ouer for whole legions of *Poiteuins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refused to come, both in regard they found themselues despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the voyce of God and the people is vttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischief of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryar Pre-dicant : but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King : *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feared they most*, the King replies : Sea-men know that best themselues; then, my Lord I will tell you : *Petra & Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament vpon summons

A fter

After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at *Westminster*: whether likewise they refused to come, vnles the King would remoue the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poistounes* from the Court: otherwise, by the *Common Councell* of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his cuill Councillors out of the land, and deale for the creation of a new King.

Vpon this threatning, pledges are required of the Nobility to be deliuered by a certaine day, for security of their alleagiance. But no act passed in this Parliament though diuers Lords came thither, as the Earle of *Cornwall*, *Chester*, *Lincolne*, *Ferrers*, & others. In regard the Earle *Marefchall*, the Lord *Gilbert Bassit*, and other Nobles were not present. Then were Writs sent out to all who held by Knights seruice, to repaire to the King at *Glocester* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Marefchall* and his associates refusing, the King without the iudgement of his Court, and their Peeres, cause to be proclaimed outlawes, seizes vpon all their lands, which he giues to his *Poistounes*, and directis out Writs to attach their bodies wherefoeuer in the Kingdome.

The Bishop of *Winchester* to weaken the party of the *Marefchall*, wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of *Cornwall*, as hee likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew them into *Wales* and confederat with *Lewelin* and other great men in that country, (whither also came *Hubert de Burgh* escaping out of the *Vize* Castle, and ioynes with them) taking their oath intermutually, that no one without other should make their accord.

The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against those reuolted Lords, into *Wales*, Where he had the worst of the busines, and much dishonour, returns to *Glocester*, in playes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. Whereupon a Fryar of the Order of Minors is employed to confer with the Earle *Marefchall*, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the Kings mercy, whom he had heard to say, that notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate vpon submission; and besides giues him so much of *Herefordshire*, as should conveniently maintaine him. Besides the Fryar told him what he heard of other Councillors about the King, concerning the wishing of his submission, and in what forme they desired it should be imparted in priuat. And then, as of himselfe, he vses all inducements possible to draw him thereunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit, and safety so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing mooued, told the Fryar what iniury hee had receiued, and that he could not trust the King, so long as hee had such Councillors about him: who onely sought the destruction of him, and his associates, who euer had bene his loyall subiects. And after many obiections made by the Fryar with vrging the Kings power, his owne weaknes, and the danger hee was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no danger: that he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will, that was guided by no reason: that hee should giue an ill example to relinquish the iustice of his cause to obay that will which wrought all iniustice, whereby it might appeare, they loued worldly possessions more then right and honour, &c.

So nothing was done, the Warre continues with much effusion of blood, all the borders of *Wales* vnto *Shrewesbury*, are miserable wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is vsed to draw the Earle *Marefchall* ouer into *Ireland* to defend his state there, which was likewise seized vpon, by authority giuen vnder the Kings hand and Seale, and all those great possessions descended vnto him from his Ancestor the Earle *Strongbow* (the first Conquerors of that Country) spoyled and taken from him. And here, seeking to recouer his liuelihood, hee lost his life circumvented by treachery: his death gaue occasion of grieffe, both to his friends and enemies. The King disauowes the sending of his commission into *Ireland*, protesting he neuer knew thereof, and discharges himselfe vpon his Councillor. A poore shift of weake Princes.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, where in the Bishops grauely admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the mischief of disencion betwene him, and his Kingdome, occasioned through the ill counsell of his Ministers) to be at vnion with his people, to remouee from him strangers, and others, by whose instigation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are fostered,

1232.
Anno.
Reg. 17
6. Parliament.

The K. with
an army a-
gainst the
Lords.

vide Append.

1234.
Anno.
Reg. 19
7 Parliament.

fostered, and his naturall Subjects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the Greevances of the State, and the abuses of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to governe his, according to the example of other Kingdomes, by the natives of the same, and their Lawes: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Councillors, and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist, and get to his ends, but by temporizing, consents to call home these Lords out of Wales, restores them to their places and possessions, amonues those strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to accompt. The Bishop of Winchester. *Peter de Rinalis* and *Stephan Segrave* therupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, upon mediation they obtained, with great fines, their Liberty, dearely paying for their two yeeres eminency and grace.

Isabel the Kings Sister married to the Emperor.

Things thus appeased the King giues his sister *Isabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Frederic* the second (successor to *Orto*, and grand-child to *Frederic Barbarossa*) the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* were sent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to *Sandwich* with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnised at *Wormes*. She was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yielded neither strength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (*Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth) was such and so great as all he could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For not to let goe that hold of the Empire he had in *Italy*, with his hereditary Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was put to be perpetually in conflict, neuer free from vexations, thrust from his owne courtes, enioyned to undertake the Holy warres, to waster him abroade, weakned at home by excommunications, and fines for absolutions, for which, at one time he payde eleuen thousand markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes so preuailed that in the Graue of this *Frederic* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after hee had thus raigned foure and thirty yeares, leauing his sonne *Conrad* successor rather of his miseries then his inheritance. Hee had a sonne by *Isabel* named *Henrie*, to whom hee bequeathed the Kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thousand ounces of Gold, but hee liued not to enioy it.

1236.
Anno.
Reg. 20

To the marriage of this Sister, the King giues thirty thousand markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other ornaments of great value: towards which, is rayed two Markes vpon euery Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himselfe marries *Elianos* daughter to *Raymond* Earle of *Prouince*, a match in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and degree of Estate, little aduantageous either to him, or his Kingdome, but the circumstance of alliance drew it on, with some other promises which were not obserued. So, that hee is neither greater, nor richer by these alliances but rather lessened in his meanes, hauing no dowre with his wife, full of poore kindred, that must draw meanes from this Kingdome.

Shriefes remooued for corruption.

After the solemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at London, which the King would haue held in the Towre, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place, of more freedome, is appointed: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome order is taken that all Shriefes are remooued from their Offices vpon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to auoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their Oathes to receiue no gifts, but in victuals, and those without excess.

Here the King displaces his Steward, and some other Councillors, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellor, the great Seale, but the Bishop refuses to deliuer it, alledging, how hee had it by the common Councell of the Kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it, and hauing carryed himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much fauoured by the people. *Peter de Rinalis* and *Stephan Segrave*, are againe receiued into grace: an argument of the Kings leuitie, and

and irrefolution, mooued, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and vndoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he euer looses ground.

And now faime would he haue reuoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being done beyond his power, & without the cōsent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceiued displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. Another Parliament, or the same adiourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, hee requires the thirtieth part of all mooueables, as well of the Clergie as Layetie. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recital of the many Leuies had beene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentieth, now of the thirtieth, and fortieth parts: and that it was a thing vnworthy and iniurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and neuer did good to the Kingdome, either in expelling, or repressing enemy, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subiugating the same to Strangers, that he should extort so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaues of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would neuer more iniurie the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely releue him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his Sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, *that the same was done without their Councell, neyther ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault*: After 4. daies consultation, the King promising to vse only the Councell of his naturall Subiects, disauowing and protesting against the reuocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inuiolable obseruation of the Liberties, vnder paine of excommunication, hath yeilded vnto him the thirtieth part of all mooueables (reseruing yet to euery man his ready coyne, horse, and armour to be employed for the Commonwealth. For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordayned that 4. Knights of euery Shire, and one Clerke of the Kings should vpon their Oath receiue and deliuer the same, eyther vnto some Abbay or Castle, to bee reserued there, that if the King sayle in performance of his Grants, it might bee restored to the Country whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leaue the Councell of *Aliens*, and onely vse that of his naturall Subiects. Wherein to make shew of his part, he sodainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz Geoffrey* to bee sworne his Councillors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giuing that satisfaction to his subiects as he had promised concerning Strangers, and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not obserued in the leauying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens Estates then was held conuenient. Moreouer *William Valentine* Vncle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and posseses him so, as nothing is done without his Councell: the Earle of *Prouince*, the father; a poore Prince, is inuited to come ouer to participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monford* a French man borne (banished out of *France* by Queene *Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eliana* the Kings Sister (widdow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Great Mareſchall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter to *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subiects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought vpon, is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdome (the Queen being yong and child-lesse) the preferuation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and hee is the man employed to the King to impart the publike grieuances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subiect) and cast away vpon Strangers who onely guide him, then the infinite summes hee had rayſed in his time: How there was no Archbishopricke or Bishopricke, except *Torke*, *Lincolne*, and *Barbe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earldomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheates, and yet his treasure, which should

9 Parliament.

1237.

Anno.

Reg. 21

Four knights of euery shire ordained to take charge of the subsidie.

The coming of *Simon Monford* into *England*.

The Grievances of the Kingdome.

1238.
Anno.
Reg. 22

10, Parliament

be the strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreover how he as if both despising his, and the Councell of his naturall Subiects, was so obsequious to the will of the *Romans*, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as hee seemed to adore his footsteps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or priuate, but by his consent, so that hee seemed absolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King vpon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had sounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolu'd to take part against him, hee againe (by the aduice of the Legat, who had earnestly dealt with the Earle of *Cornwall* to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calles a Parliament at *London*. Whether the Lords came armed both for their owne safetie, and to constrain the King (if he refused to the obseruation of the premices, and reformation of his courses.

Here, after many debates the King (taking his Oath) to referre the businesse to the order of certaine graue men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed, and publicly set vp to the view of all, with the seales of the Legat, and diuers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monford* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom hee and the State were displeased) the Earle growes cold in the businesse. The Lords perceiuing the staffe of their strength to faile them, failed themselues, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the kingdome continue as they did.

1239.
Anno.
Reg. 23

Thomas of Savoy marieth the inheretrix of the Earldome of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life,

Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* (the third sonne of *William* the great Marshall) and caused his gates to bee shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retires into the *North*. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his fauours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Master of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but said to be Master of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector, and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and giuen to the Abbot of *Evesham*. In like sort, his brother *Geffrey* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobilitie; who had often before laboured their amouement, as held to be corrupt Councillors, and wrongers of the State, and now are they false off themselues. But the cause of this their deiection may shew, that oftentimes Officers vnder weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World holds them to be: for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King made vnto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* (the Queenes Vncle) of 4. pence vpon euery sack of Wooll (an enormous act then accompted) they both lost their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall discouering what the Enuie that attended their fortune, hindred men to see. To this Earle of *Flanders* the next yeare after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

Edmond Archbishop of *Canterbury* giues ouer his Sea.

Now, besides the great exactions of the King, and his wastes. The Sea of Rome extorts huge summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow vp the substance of the Kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergie so wide; as they let out many exclamations against the auarice of the Popes of that time: and the *Romane* Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre vpon the easi-yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung out what they listed. In so much, as besides the fleece, they would now haue the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandat to haue three hundred *Romans* preferred to the benefices which should be first vacant in *England*, which so amazed the Clergie, and especially *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he; seeing no end of these confusions of the State, and Liberties of the Church: and himselfe (on whom the Scandall of all must light, vnable by reason of the Kings remissenes to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) giues ouer al; and betakes himselfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France*; and there applies him to the contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ranfome for his Church, 800. Marks to the Pope.

The Clergie, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could against

against the Popes rapine, who to get money for his wars with the Emperour vsed daily new and insolent pressures vpon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how preiudiciall, and derogatorie it was to his royalty, and the liberty of the Kingdom to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore euer did: and of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors. The King, either not apprehensie of the mischief, or content to ioyne with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliuer the chiefe opposers vnto him. Whereupon they seeing themselves forsaken, and no powre to succour them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings anination presumes more peremptorily to vrge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a Conuocation at London for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergie declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperour, and effusion of Christian blood was vnlawfull, hee beeing not an Heretik, not condemned by the iudgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, beeing required vnder paine of Ecclesiasticall censure, as a thing of seruitude and compulsion: That they had heretofore giuen a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that neuer any such exaction should againe bee made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, for as much as *Bimus aëus inducat consuetudinem*: That for their businesse in the Court of Rome, they were to passe through the Emperours Countries, and the daunger they might haue thereby: That it was not safe for the Kingdome to impouerish the King, who had many enemies, against whom hee must haue to sustaine warre: And besides how for the furnishing of diuers Noble men, vndertaking of late the businesse of the Crosse, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of England was poore, and hardly able to sustaine it selfe. That a generall contribution was to bee made by a generall Councell, &c.

Notwithstanding these reasons, though at first they staggered the Legat, yet such course was taken by winning some of them, vpon hope of preferment, as the rest could not without the note of contumacy but yeeld perforce, so, by this treason of deuision, the body of the Councell is entred into, and the Pope preuailes in this businesse.

The King hath now a sonne lately borne, and Richard his brother Earle of Cornwall hauing likewise issue (by permission of the State which heretofore hee could not obtaine) vndertakes the Crosse, and with him his Vncle William Longsword Earle of Salisbury, & many other Noblemen. These departing out of England, Peter of Sauioy, another Vncle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earledome of Richmond bestowed on him, with many other gifts, he is knighted & feasted sumptuously, for which the poore Iews by way of redemption, pay 20. thousand Markes at two tearmes of that yeare. Boniface the sonne of Peter of Sauioy, Nephew to the Queen is preferred to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury. After this the King makes an expedition into Wales, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, hauing been very vnfortunate, in his many attempts against Lewellin, intituled Prince, or King of North-Wales; who being lately dead, had left his two sonnes David and Griffin, by diuision of State to be at discord betweene themselves, whereby he came to make an easier end of that businesse, and now onely but with the shew of his power, got that, which, heretofore hee could not with much blood; hath submission, and fealty rendred vnto him by David, with all his charges for that journey, but now this ended, another attempt of great expence, but lesse benefit is in hand.

The Earle of March with his wife, the Queene Mother, and many other great Lords of Poictou, so worke by their earnest sollicitation, with assurance of successe, as the King is induced to vndertake another expedition in France. The matter is mooued in Parliament, generall opposition made against it, the great expence, and the ill it last brought to the Kingdome, vehemently vrged, How it was vnlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of France, who was now to strong for them to doe any good, &c.

Notwithstanding many of the greatest Peeres, drawne by faire promises, and their

Pope Gregory the 9.

Col. de Episcop. pal. L. Nemo.

Edward eldest sonne to king Henry, Richard Earle of Cornwall vndertakes the Crosse.

1241.
Anno.
Reg. 25

11. Parliament

A repetition
of the Kings
supplies for-
mely made.

The King
carries ouer
30. Barrells of
siluer into
France.

The Kings se-
cond expedi-
tion into
France.

An imposi-
on of Eſcuage
with another
redemption
of the Iewes.
The Coun-
teſſe of *Pro-
uince* mother
to the Queene
comes ouer
into *England*
to the great
charge of the
Kingdome.

1244
Anno.
Reg. 28
2 Parliament.

owne hopes for recovery of their Estates so preuayle as the action is resolved on, and an Ayde demanded for the same. The very motion for money was so distastefull, as presently all the Kings supplies made from the beginning of his raigne, are particularly againe, and opprobriously rehearsed, as the 13. 15. 16. and 40. part of all mens moueables, besides Carucage, Hydage, Eſcuage, Eſcheates, Amercements, and such like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continuall exactions, with the infinite charge for those who vnderooke the Holy warre, are likewise repeated. Besides they declare, how the 30. leuyed about foure yeares past (in regard it was to bee layde vp in certaine Castles and not to bee issued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it yet vspent: the King, to their knowledge, hauing had no necessary occasion to imploy the same for the vse of the Commonwealth, for which it was granted, and therefore resolutely they denyed to yeeld him any more. Whereupon the King comes himselfe to the Parliament, and in most submissiue manner craues their ayde at this time, vrging the Popes letter, which hee had procured to sollicite and perswade them therunto. But all preuayled not, their vow made to each other not to disſeuer their voyces, or to be drawne to a diſunion held them fast together. Inſomuch as the King is driuen to get what he could of particular men, eyther by gift or loane, and vses such meanes, as notwithstanding, he carries ouer with him thirty Barrells of sterling coyne, and taking with him his Queene, leaues the gouernment of the Kingdome to the Archbishop of *York*, hauing first, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margueret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldest sonne to *King* of Scots to whom he commits the gouernment of the Marches.

The second expedition into *France*, had no better successe then the first. For therein he likewise consumed his treasure vpon strangers, discontented the English Nobility, was deceived in his trust by the *Poictouines*, who failed him with his mony, and after more then a whole yeares stay (the Lords of *England* leauing him) was driuen to make a dishonourable truce with the King of *France*. And after hauing beene releued with much prouision out of *England*, and another imposition of Eſcuage, he returnes, puts the Iewes to another redemption; exacts of the *Londoners*; is visited by his wifes mother, the Countesse of *Prouince*, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expences) sumptuously feasted, and a marriage solemnized between the young Lady and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, whose wife was late dead, and he returned from the Holy warres.

The olde Countesse at her returne is presented with many rich gifts, hauing besides, receiued an annuall pension of 4000. Marks out of *England* for five yeares past, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* should, after her disease haue the Earledome of *Prouince*. But shortly after her returne home, she disappoints him of that hope: and bestowes the same vpon her youngest daughter. *Beatrix*, on *Charles* the French Kings brother, who was after King of *Naples*, and *Sicile*: So that she liued to see all her foure daughters Queenes; *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* coming afterward to be elected King of the *Romans*.

Meanes now, vpon these profusions, to haue fresh supply of Treasure, was onely by way of Parliament which is againe in *Anno. Reg.* 28. assembled at *Westminster*, and therein the Kings wants, and the present occasions vrged for the necessary defence of the Kingdome, hauing now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*, whose Princes lately reuolting, ioyne together to annoy the same; but nothing could bee effected without the assurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes, notwithstanding the King comes againe himselfe in person, as before, and pleades his owne necessities. Here they desire to haue ordayned that foure of the most graue and discrete Peeres should be chosen as Conseruators of the Kingdome, and sworne of the Kings Councill, both to see Iustice obserued, and the Treasure issued, and thele should euer attend about the King or at least 3. or 2. of them. Besides that the Lord Chiefe Iusticiar, and the Lord Chancellor should bee chosen by the general voyces of the States assembled, or else bee one of the number of those foure.

Besides

Besides they propound that there might be two Iustices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer; and one Iustice for the Iewes, and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. *That as their function was publike, so should also be their Election.*

But whiles these things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and disturber of Peace, the Deuill, saith *Mat. Paris*, hindred the proceeding, by the coming of *Martin* a new Legat sent from the Pope with a larger power then euer any before, to exact vpon the State; which hee supposed now to haue beene so wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne being serued, his likewise should bee presently supplied. But making too much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desire, and receiues a most peremptory repulse of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home with this displeasing message. *That the Kingdome was poore: had great warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Besides this course was of dangerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Councell was shortly to be held at Lyons, if the Church would be reliev'd, it were fit the same should be done by a generall consent in that Councell.*

Besides, at this time the Emperour *Frederic*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first intreats, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might haue no supplies out of England, which (he sayd) were only required to reuiue him, whom contrary to all Piety and Iustice he had oppressed, by seizing vpon his Cities, and Castles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithstanding his often submission & desire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and vniust excommunications. And seeing he could obtaine no due hearing, he had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of France, and England, and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore desires, he might not receiue detriment, whence he expected fauour, as a brother and friend. Adding in the end, that if the King would bee aduised by him he would by powre free this Kingdome from that vniust tribute which *Innocentius the 3.* and other Popes had layd vpon it. These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

Vide Append.
The Emperour
Fredericks letters to the
King.

The interposition of this businesse tooke vp so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of euery Knights fee, and that with much ado and repetition of all his former Aydes.

After this, vpon a light occasion, the King vndertakes an expedition of great charge against *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which euery Baron which held in *Capite*, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to be ready withall Military prouision due for that seruice. Whereunto, likewise repaires *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* with three score Knights and a hundred other seruants (thirsting for the Kings money) whose vnecessary coming was ill taken by the Barons of *England*, as if the strength of the Kingdome without him, were not sufficient for that Action, which was as sodainely ended as vndertaken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

Another
Griouances
of the Barons.

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he assembles another Parliament, wherein he mooues for an Ayde, vpon a designe he had for *Wales*, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were vrged to be so great, as he could not appeare out of his chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of House. But they all to his face, with one voice, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out against the city of *London* for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thousand Markes. And *Passelene* the Kings Clerke is employed with others in a most peremptory commission, to inquire of all such lands, as had beene inforested, and either to fine the occupiers thereof, at their pleasure, or take it from them and sell the same to others. Wherein such rigor was vsed, as multitudes of people were vndone. So vn safe are private mens estates, where Princes fall into so great wants. *Passelene* for his good seruice in this businesse should haue beene preferred to the Bishopricke of *Chichester*, but the Bi-

13 Parliament

An inquiry about Lands
inforested which bred
great grieuances.

An inquiry of
the Popes re-
uenues in
England.

1245.
Anno.
Reg. 29

shop withstood the king therein.

Now, in regard to shew the King the Estate of his kingdome, and the oppression of Popes; Inquiry was made of the reuenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*, which was found to be annually, sixty thousand Markes, being more then the yearly reuenues of the Crowne of *England*: which so moued the King, as he caused the same to be notified, with al other exactions, by his procurators to the general counsell now assembled at *Lyons*; which (with the ill vsage of *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, as he is said to haue vttered these words: *It is fit that wee make an end with the Emperor that we may crush these Petty Kings, for the Dragon or ce appeased or destroyed, these lesser snakes will be soone troden downe.* Which impious speech proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace, and charity ought to be vttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gaue warning to Princes of preuention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet euer at one with the Church.

And the Clergy of *England* were most forward to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne vnto, through the humility of their zeale: For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoeuer it sits, that finding an yeeldingnes to indure, it neuer thinkes it hath power sufficient, soles it hath more then enough: for, if the Popes (the professed soueraignes of piety) vpon the aduantage of mens zeale, and beliefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to bee sinne against the Holy Ghost) no maruaile if secular Princes, whose consciences are vntyed, strue to breake out into the wildnesse of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the state they are placed.

vide Append.

1246
Anno.
Reg. 30

But vpon the Popes reiecting the consideration of these griuances of *England* (which were particularly deliuered in this counsell at *Lyons*) and dispising the Kings message (who, he said began to Frederize) it was absolutely here ordained, vnder great penalty, that no contribution of money should be giuen to the Pope by any subiect of *England*: and the King, for a time, bustles against these forraigne exactions, in such sort as it gaue some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wauering nature, and a feard of threats, soone womanlike giues ouer what hee manfully vnderooke: so that the Pope continues his former rapine, though hauing by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promise neuer to send any more Legats into *England*, yet employes he other ministers, vnder the titles of Clarke, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected vnderhand his desires.

1247
Anno.
Reg. 31.
1248.
Anno.
Reg. 32

Now the other part of the state haue new occasions of complaynt offered. *Peter* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings ouer certaine maydes to bee married to young noble men of *England* the Kings Wards, of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the same yeare, 3. of the Kings brothers by the mother *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clarke* are sent for ouer to be provided of Estates in *England*. *Thomas of Sauoy* (sometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his sister *Beatrix* Countesse of *Prouince* the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feasted, and gifted: for which the King is taxed in the next Parliament conuoked in *London* in *Candlemas* Tearme: and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise (vpon his requiring of another ayde) hauing vowed and declared (vpon his last supply) by his Charter, neuer more to iniury the state in that kinde. Besides they blame him for his violent taking vp of provisions for dyet, wax, Silkes robes, &c. and especially for wine, contrary to the Will of the sellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, in so much as all traffique and commerce utterly cease, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his Iudges were sent in circuit vnder pretext of Iustice to fleece the people. That *Robert de Passelene* had wrung from the borders of Forests, for incroachments or aJarts, great summes of money, and therefore they wonder he should now demand reliefe from the impoverished commons: and aduised him since his needlesse expences (posquam Regni caput esse dilapidator) amounted to bee aboute 800. thousand pounds) that hee should pull from his fauourites enriched with this treasure of the Kingdome, and reuoke the old Lands of the Crowne.

14. Parliament
That he took
from his sub-
iects, quicquid
habuerunt in
esulentis, &
pecul nris Ru-
sticorum enim
Equos, Bigas,
Vin. Victalia
alibitum ca-
pit.
Rishanger.

Then

Then they reprove him for keeping vacant in his hands Bishopricks, and Abbayes, contrarie to the liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, they all generally complaine for that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer, were not made by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient; but such aduanced, as followed his Will, in whatsoeuer tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome but their owne.

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtaine his desire and giues them promises of redresse, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsummer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himselfe towards them; that accordingly they might obey, and satisfie his desire.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Councell growes more obdurate, and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes this speech: Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your vnciuill pleasure, and impose a seruile condition upon him? Will you deny vnto him what euery one of you, as you list, may doe? It is lawfull for euery one of you to vse what counsell he will, and euery master of a familie to preferre to any office in his house whom he pleases, and displace again when he list, and will you rashly deny your Lord, and King to doe the like? Whereas seruants ought not to iudge their Master, and Subiects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the seruant is not aboue his Lord, nor the Disciple aboue his Master. Neither should hee bee your King, but as your seruants who should so incline to your pleasures: wherefore hee will neither remooue the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds hee answeres to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde hee required, it concern'd (hee said) their Right as well as his. And so the Parliament brake vp in discontent.

The King is aduised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crowne, being told that as all riuers haue reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold, and disperced would reuert againe vnto him, and therefore it should not mooue him, and hauing with great losse received money for this ware, he inquires who had bought it, answer was made, the Citie of London, that City, said he, is an vnexhaustible Gulph: if Octauius treasure were to be sold they would surely buy it, and there withall inueighes against the City which had so often serued his turne, and deuises all meanes to vex the same, causing shortly after a new faire to bee kept at Westminster, forbidding vnder great penaltie all exercise of Merchandize within London for 15. dayes, and all other faires in England, and namely that of Ely. This noueltie came to nothing, the inconuenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulencesse of the weather brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders.

That Christ was also (without respect of Royall Magnificence) hee requires new yeeres gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes vnto them his letters imperiously deprecatorie, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 20000. pounds, for which, the next yeere after he craves pardon of the City, sending for them to Westminster Hall. And notwithstanding his continuall taking vp all prouisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitalitie (introducing, say they, the Romane Custome of dyet) as was held very dishonourable, and vnusuall to the English Magnificence of Court.

Then, where he could obtaine nothing of the States together, he calles vnto him, or writes to euery Noble man a part, declaring his pouertie and how hee was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thousand pounds to those of Burdeaux, and the Gascoignes (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last being in France, notwithstanding he required nothing but of fauour, which where he found, hee would returne with the like. And sayling likewise herein, hee addressees his letters to the Prelates, where he finds as little reliefe. By much importunitie, and his owne presence he got of the Abbot of Ramsey 100. pounds: but the Abbot of Burrough had a face to refuse him the like summe. Though the King, told him it was more almes to giue vnto him, then to a beggar that went from doore to doore: the Abbot of Saint Albones yet

The Kings
speech in Par-
liament.

Clauis, An. 48.
& 49 Hen 3.
Beginneth
first with sale
of Land, then
of Jewels,
pawneeth Gas-
cogne, & after
his crowne
when hauing
neither credit
nor pawnes of
his owne, he
layeth the or-
naments and
Jewels of
Saint Edwards
Shrine, giues
ouer house-
keeping.

1249.
Anno.
Reg. 33.

The king re-
quires New-
yeeres gifts.

yet was more kinde, and gaue him 60. Markes. To this lownesse, did the necessitie of this indigent King (though his profusion) decline him. The Iewes euer exposed to his want, feeble the weight of these his wants, and their Estates are continually ranfackt. One *Abraham*, found a delinquent, redeemes himselfe for 700. Markes. *Aron* another Jew, protests, the King had since his last being in *France*, taken from him at times, 30. thousand Markes of Siluer, besides hee had giuen 200 Markes in Gold to the Queene.

The Lords assemble againe at *London*, and presse him with his promise made vnto them, that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer might be constituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reason of the absence of *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, which was thought to be of purpose, they returne frustrate of their desire. So that discontentment still goes on, and neither side get any thing but by hard wrestlings, which became them both ill, and shew vs the miseries of a disioynted time.

The King labours the Couent of *Duresme* to prefer his brother *Athelmar* to the Bishopricke the Couent refuses him, in regard of his youth and insufficiency: the King answeres, that then he would keepe the Bishopricke 8. or 9. yeeres more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturitie. Shortly after the Bishopricke of *Winchester* falls voyde; and thither hee sends presently his solicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedrall Church, to elect his brother, and for that he would not haue also their repulse, he suddenly goes thither himselfe in Person, enters the Chapter house as a Bishop or Prior, gets vp into the Presidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes this text: *Iustice and Peace haue kissed each other*, and thereupon vses these words: *To mee, and other Kings, and to our Princes and Iusticiars, who are to gouerne the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iustice: to you, who are men of quiet, and religion; peace and tranquillitie: and this day I heare, you haue (for your owne good) beene fauourable to my request. Iustice and Peace haue kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for withstanding mee in the election of William Rale your late Bishop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this; and will both remember and reward your kindnesse. As by a woman came destruction to the world, so by a woman came the remedie. I to satisfie my wife, desirous to preferre her Vncle William Valentine, disquieted, and dammified you, so now, willing to aduance my brother, by the Mother will reconcile my selfe vnto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this Citie I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound vnto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends he the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honour and benefit they should haue by electing him, but concludes with some threatening. So that the Monkes, seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in vaine to deny him: and *Athelmar* is elected though with this reseruatiō; if the Pope allowed thereof. Shortly after folowes the memorable cause of *Sir Henry de Bath* a Iusticiar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Councillor to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said in one circuit to haue gotten 200 pound land per annum, he is accused by *Sir Philip Darcy* of falsehood in the Kings Court, and the King to incenced against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made that whosoever had any action or complaint against *Henry de Bath*, should come and be heard: one of his fellow Iusticiars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage protesting that whosoever would kill *Hugh de Bath* should be acquitted for the deede: but afterward he comes pacified by the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Bishop of *London*, who urged the danger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Councill, whom he had used in so great businesse, would discourage others to serue such a Master, who vpon malicious accusations should so forsake them, whose places were euer exposed to enuy and detraction. And thereupon *Sir Henry* is released paying, 2000 Markes and after restored to his former place and fauour.*

The King keeping his Christmas at *Yorke*, the marriage is solemnized betweene *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter, the ryot of which feast with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diseased time) is described by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gaue 60. fat Oxen which were spent

1250.

Anno.

Reg. 34

The kings
speech to the
Chapter at
Winchester.

The cause of
Sir H. Bath.

1251.

Anno.

Reg. 35

15 Parliament.

The marriage
of *Margueret*
with *Alexan-*
der K. of Scots,
solemnized at
Yorke.

at one meale; besides that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the pouerty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew their glory, they could finde what they denyed at other times.

The Pope Sollicites the King to vndertake the Crosse, and so doth *Alphenſus* King of *Castile*; Offering to accompany him in Person to reskue the King of *France*. Who hauing euen emptied his country both of Treasure and Nobilitie, was now taken prisoner by the *Soldan*, and held in miserable captiuitie. A ranſome collected for him in *France*, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easily be had: the captiue King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England* so hee would come to his rescue. Which, the Nobilitie of *France* takes ill and disdain the weakenesse of their King: vpon the Popes sollicitation and the grant of a Teuth of the Clergy and Laytie for 3. yeeres to come, the King of *England* vndertakes the Crosse, rather it seemes to get the money then with any purpose to performe the iourney. Which, had it beene collected, would, saith *Paris*, haue amounted to 600. thousand pound, to the vtter impouerishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both sought, but by suerall waies, for many now began to discover, that, the Pope, by this inbarking the Princes of Christendome in this remote, and consuming warre, to wast them, their Nobilitie and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power, and domination.

The King by Proclamation calles the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causes the Bishops of *Worcester*, and *Chicheſter*, to declare his intention; and exhort the people to vndertake the crosse and attend him: but few are moued by their perswasion, onely three Knights) and they of no great note) are nominated: whom the King presently, in open view, inbraces, kisses, and calles brethren, checking the *Londoners*, as ignoble mercenaries for that few of them were forward in this action, notwithstanding hee then takes his Oath for performing of the same and to set forth presently vpon Midſommer day next. In taking this oath, hee layes his right hand on his breast (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a lay man.

A Parliament about this tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at *London*, the Bishops are first dealt withall (as being a worke of pietie) to induce the rest, they absolutely refuse the same, then the Lords are set vpon, they answer: what the Bishops (who were first to giue their voice consented vnto) they would allow the same, this shuffling put the King into so great rage as he draue out all that were in his chamber, as he had beene mad. Then falles he to his former course, to perswade them a part, sends first for the Bishop of *Ely*, deales with him in all milde and kind manner, recounting the many fauors he had receiued at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to supply his occasions: and intrcats him now to giue good example to others, &c. The Bishop replies: he was glad, at any time to haue done him acceptable seruice, but in this, for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the vniuersality of the state had determined, he held it a dishonest act; and therefore besought his highnes he would not vrge him therunto, dissuading him from that iourney by the example of the K. of *France*, on whom, he might see the punishment of God to be fallen, for his rapine made on his peoples substance, where with he had now enriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treasure of the Christians transported into those parts.

The King, seeing the resolution of this graue Bishop, in great passion commanded his seruants to thrust him out of doore, perceiuing by this what was to be expected of the rest; and so fals to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for suitors) *Isabel* Countesse of *Arundel* (widow) comes vnto him about a Ward detained from her, in regard of a small parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) the King giuing her a harsh answer and turning away she said vnto him. My Lord, why turne you away your face from Iustice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court you are constituted in the midst betwixt God and vs: but neither gonerne your selfe nor vs discreetly as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church, and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may. To which speech the King disdainfully replies: Ladie Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their advocate and prolocutrix? No Sir, saith she, they haue not made any Charter to mee. But the

The King of France prisoner with the Soldan.

The King of England vnder takes the Crosse.

1252.
Anno.
Reg. 36

The Bishops and Lords deny the K. the Temp granted by the Pope.

The speech of Isabel Countesse of Arundel to the king.

the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to obserue, and so often extorted from your subjects their money for the same, you unworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, so often written, so often granted, so often bought? I (though a woman) and with mee, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge above, and Heauen, and Earth shall be our witnesse, that you haue most vnjustly dealt with vs, and the Lord God of reuenge, auenge vs. Herewith the King disturbed, asked her if shee expected no grace from him being his kinswoman: How shall I hope for grace, said she, when you deny me right? and I appeale before the face of Christ against those Councillors of yours, who, onely greedie of their own gaine, haue bewitched, and infatuated you.

The King reproved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reproved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in Clerken-well, who coming to complaine of an iniurie committed against their Charter, the King told him; *The Prelats, and especially the Templars and Hospitalars, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride madde, and that those things which were vnadvisedly granted, Were with discretion to be reuoked: and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause non obstante, and why should not he cassat those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors.* What say you Sir (said the Prior, God forbid so ill a word should proceed out of your mouth. So long as you obserue Iustice you may be a King, and as soone as you violate the same you shall leaue to be a King.

The Fryers Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That he ought not to giue Almes of what he had rent from the poore, neither would they accept of that abhominable gift.* With these and many such like bold incounters (ill becoming the obedience of Subjects) is this King affronted: to shew vs the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the loue of his people, whereby they both haue their vexations.

Strangers commit ryots.

And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of *Hartfort* to a Parke of the Bishop of *Ely*, lying neere his maner of *Hatfield*, where after hauing spoyled much game he enters into the Bishops house and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore being strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence then this was offred to an Officiall of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both, and gaue them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King coming as a guest to the Abbot of Saint *Albones* violates the Rights of Hospitalitie, and many other iniuries, are reported by our Author to haue bene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made of that time, wherein, this was said to bee the vsuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is giuen to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers,* which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolessme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glocester* a man eminent, and deerly loued of the Nobilitie: Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Country, the King promises her a dowre of fīue thousand Markes, which hee sought to borrow of diuers, but could not.

The City of *London* is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000. Markes: and the *Gascoyns* being vpon reuolt (vnlesse speedy remedie were taken) generall musters are made, and commandement giuen that whosoener could dispend 13. pound *per annum*, should furnish out a horse-man. This with the extreame wants of the King occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes wisely to consider that all their opposition did no good, the Kings turne must bee serued one way or other,

other, some must pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars it was far more heavy, then it could be in generall: and therefore they agreed to releene him rather by the vsuall way, then force him to those extrauagant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of the gouernment and ratification of their lawes might be once againe solemnly confirmed.

And after fiteene daies consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, vpon his setting forth, bee distributed for 3. yeeres; and Scutage, 3. Markes of euery Knights Fee) by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemne and ceremoniall manner, as *Religion and State*, could euer deuise to doe.

A Tenth, and
Scutage granted by Parl.

The King with all the great Nobilitie of England, all the Bishops and chiefe Prelates in their reuerend Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunications against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King hauing receiued one in his hand, giues it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, *it becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony*, and withall, laid his hand spread on his breast the whole time the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Autoritate dei omnipotris, &c.* which done he caused the Charter of King John his Father granted by his free consent to be likewise openly read. In the end, hauing throwne away their candles (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, and stincke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce said: *As God me helpe, I Will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned, and annointed, inuiolably obserue all these things.* And therewithall the Bells rung out, and all the people shouted with ioy.

1253.

Anno.

Reg. 37

vide Apprend.

Neuer were lawes amongst men (except those holy commandements from the mount) established with more Maiestie of Ceremony, to make them reuerend, and respected then were these: they wanted but thunder and lightning from heauen (which if prayers could haue procured, they would likewise haue had) to make the sentence gaffly, and hydeous to the infringers thereof. The greatest securitie that could be giuen was an oath (the onely chaine on earth, besides loue, to tye the conscience of man, and humane society together) which, should it not hold vs, all the frame of gouernment and order must needs fall quite a funder.

Now the businesse of *Gascoigne* (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, we must returne to the head whence it sprung. 27. yeeres past, the King, by the counsell of his Lords, freely granted to his brother *Richard* all that Prouince, who is there receiued as their Lord with their oathes of Fealty made vnto him; and so continues, vntill the King (hauing issue of his owne, by motion of the Queene) reuokes his gift, and confers it vpon the eldest sonne *Edward*. *Richard*, though he were deprived of the possession would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in *Gascoigne*, many of them stand doubtfull whom to attend; the King in great displeasure commanded his brother to resigne his Charter, and renounce his right; which, he refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeaux* to take, and imprison him: but they in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, and the Kings mutability, who might resent his own commandement) would not aduenture there on. Then he assayles them with money which effected more then his commandement: the Earle is in danger to be surprised, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes ouer into *England*.

The King resumes *Gascoigne* from his brother *Richard*, giues it to his sonne *Prince Edward*.

The King assembles the Nobilitie of *Gasconie* at *Burdeaux*; inuaignes against his brother: *A man, hee said was couetous, and a great oppressour, a large promiser, but a spare payer; and that hee would prouidethem of a better gouernour*: with all, promises them thirtie thousand Markes (asa price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes their of Fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make vnto him, till he had inwrapt himselfe both by his Charter and Oath for this promised summe: whereunto they so held him, as thereby, afterward they lost his loue. And to be reuenged on them, he sends *Simon Monford* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and Martiall man to Master their pride: makes him a Charter

Simon Monford Earle of *Leicester* sent into *Gascony*.

Monforts contestation with the K.

a Charter for 6. yeeres to come, and furnishes him with 10000. marks the better to effect his command. *Monfort* by his sterne gouernment so discontented the *Gascoignes*, as after three yeeres suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men, to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of hainous crimes: their grieuances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is sent for ouer, to answer for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornewall* for his receiued wrong in those parts, and, the Lords of *England* for their loue to him, take *Monforts* part; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to fauour and countenance the *Gascoignes* against *Monfort*; not for his loue to them, but to awe, and abate the other. Whereupon *Monfort* enters into vndutifull contestation with the King, vpbraides him with his expencefull seruice: wherein he sayes, he had vtterly consumed his Estate: and how the King had broken his word with him: and requires him either to make it good, according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to bee obserued with an vnworthy traitor: Wherewith *Monfort* rises vp protesting that he lyed in that word, and were hee not protected by his Royall dignity, hee would make him repent it. The King commands his seruants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who will beleeeue you are a Christian? were you euer confessed? if you were, it was without repentance, and satisfaction. The King told him he neuer repented him of any thing so much, as to haue permitted him to enter into his Kingdome, and to haue honoured, and instated him, as he had done.

Monfort returned to his charge.

The *Gascoignes*, after this, are priuately sent for by the King, who giues them all comfort, and encourages them against *Monfort*, whom yet he would againe send ouer to his charge, but with clipped wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better be reuenged on him, and wishall confirms the state of *Gascoigne* to his sonne *Edward* whom he promised them shortly to send ouer, wherewith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused, and ill-packed businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Monfort* returns in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like mannner him, but he by his great aliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyoud expectation, hee ouer-matches the *Gascoignes*, whose estates hee exposes to spoyle, and therewithall intertaines great collected army. They againe send ouer their complaints, and vnlesse they were speedily relieved, they of force must put their country into some other hand that would protect them.

The K. goes ouer into Gasst. with 300 great ships.

And in this state good *Gascoigne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, vpon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprife) goes with 300. Saile of great ships and lands at *Burdeaux* in *August*, Anno Reg. 38. hauing first deposed *Simon M.* from the gouernment there, and makes voyde this Charter by Proclamation. *Monfort* retires from thence, and is offered intertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appealed the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Gouverneur. For they hauing put themselues vnder the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who being so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Countrey strong, caused the King of *England* with more hast, and care to looke to his worke, and the rather for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward*, and his Sister *Elinor*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

Aliance with the King of Spaine.

1254.
Anno.

Reg. 38

Prince Ed. marries Elinor sister to the King of Spaine.

The King of *England* keeps his Christmas at *Burdeaux*. The Queen sends him a New-yeeres-gift of 500. markes, and the next Sommer, with the Prince, goes ouer vnto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him, and his successors for euer. The King of *England* inuestes the Prince, and his Wife therein, and besides giues vnto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brisfow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantvram*. This businesse dispatched, the king prepares to returne, hauing consumed all whatsoeuer hee could get in this iourney which, with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to haue cost him 27. hundred

hundred thousand pounds, and was said to bee more then all the Lands hee had there (should they be sold) were worth, which, when he was told, he willed it might not bee reuealed in publike to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea hee obtaines leaue of the King of France (lately returned from Captiuitie) to passe through his Country, and comes to Paris with a 1000 horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where he staves 8. daies, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence feasts the King of France. This meeting, in regard of the two Queens Sisters, and their other two Sisters the Countesse of Cornwall, & Prouince (who were likewise afterward, Queenes) was made the more triumphant, and splendid. The King about Christmas ariues in England, and the first that payde for his comming home, were the Londoners, and the Jewes. The Londoners presenting him with 100. pounds were returned without thanks: then being perswaded that plate would bee better welcome, they bestow 200. pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thanks, but yet serued not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner for which they pay 3000 Markes. Now complains he of his debts, which he sayes to be 300. thousand Marks, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15. thousand Marks per annum, and mony must be had how-soeuer. First, he begins to serue his present turne with loanes, and borrowes great sums of the Earle of Cornwall, ypon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the Jewes, he lets them out to farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of griuances, and complaint of breach of Charter, which requiring their former pretended rights in electing the Iusticiar, Chancellor and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued til Michelmas after, when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres being not, as was alledged, summoned according to the Tenor of Magna Charta. New occasions of charge, and dislike arise. Thomas Earle of Sauoy, the Queenes brother, hath warres with the City of Thuren, and must bee supplied by the King, and Queene, and his brother Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury. The elect Bishop of Toledo brother to the King of Spaine with other great men, come ouer, lie at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, Elionor the Princes wife ariues with a multitude of Spaniards, and she must be met, and receiued by the Londoners in sumptuous manner; and her people after many feasting returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of Bononia with a Ring of inuestiture, to Edmond the seconds sonne for the Kingdome of Sicile (with the hope of which Kingdome his Predecessor Innocent the 4. had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes Rustandus with powre to collect the Tenth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vse of the Pope and the King, and to absolue him from his Oath for the Holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy Manfred sonne to the Emperor Fredericke, now in possession of the Kingdome of Sicile and Apulia. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in Yorke: but yet he obtained not, what he came for, of the Clergy, who protested rather to loose their liues and liuings, then to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who they said, were as the Sheapheard, and the Wolfe combined to murther the flocke.

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of Cornwall 500. Marks, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the Kingdome of Sicile, but the Earle refused it, saying, hee would not lend his mony to one on whom he could not distraine. So this proiect came to nothing, though all meanes were vsed to draw it on. Newes was spred that Manfreds forces were vntly defeated, and himselfe either slaine or taken prisoner: wherewith the King is so much ioyed as he presently vowes with all speed to make an expedition thither, and giues his sonne Edmond no other title but King of Sicile. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations, of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes prooues false, and the contrary is notified. Manfred is victorious, and the Popes powre defeated by those of Apulia, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should giue away their Country with-

King Henry comes to Paris with 1000. horse, is feasted by the K. of France.

He returns into England, fines the Londoners.

1257. Anno.

Reg. 41

16. Parliament adiourned.

Pope Alexander. 4.

Edmond the kings second sonne is promised the kingdome of Sicile.

The complaint of the Merchants of Gascoigne. An ill Office of Officers.

(without their consent) to an vnknowne Stranger, as with all their maine powre they ioyne to establiſh *Manfred*, who is now found to be the legitimate ſonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a ſtrong ſword will make howſoeuer.

The King keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where the Merchants of *Gascoigne* hauing their wines taken from them, by the Kings Officers, without due ſatisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and ſhew him, *How they were better to trade with Sarazins and Infidels, then thus to be uſed here, as they were.* The Prince addreſſes him to his father, and craues redreſſe herein, but the Officers hauing been with the K. before to preuent the clamors of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *how they faſely exclayme, relying wholly vpon the Princes fauor, who tooke vpon him their vniuſt cauſe (and that there ought to be but one in England, to whom the ordering of Juſtice appertained)* put him into ſo great a rage with the Prince, as he breakes out into theſe words. *See now my blood, and mine owne bowels impugne me, behold my ſon, as my brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather Henry the ſecond, are againe renewed, what will become of vs?* but this paſſion being allayed by Councell, he diſſembles the matter, and giues order that theſe iniuries ſhould be redreſſed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine rode with 200. horſe, So eaſily are iealoſies, by euill Miniſters inſuſed into Kings, who are of themſelues too apprehenſiue in that kinde, beeing a thing that ſoone turnes the blood.

Insolencies committed by the Princes ſeruants.

And now to adde to the miſery of theſe times, there are new miſchiefes committed by the inſolence of the ſeruants of the Prince, who beeing himſelfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent ſpirits, many ſtrangers, and men without meanes, who, whereſoeuer he went, made ſpoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatſoeuer they could faſten on, to the extreame vexation of the ſubiect. And they report how this Prince meeting a young man trauiailing on the way, cauſed one of his eares to be cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act, made many to ſuſpect his diſpoſition, and what he would prooue hereafter. And indeed, had he not beene indued with an innated Nobleneſſe of Nature (which, with his long experience in trauaile and great actions ouercame the Vices, the looſeneſſe of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might haue prooued as bad as any other. For vnleſſe Princes of themſelues, by inſtinction from aboue be indued with a naturall goodnes, they ſhall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather ſhewed what they are, then what they ſhould be: and are apter to learne to know their greatneſſe, then themſelues: being euer ſoothed in all whatſoeuer they doe.

Theſe youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous trayne (which are ſaid to be more rauenuous then thoſe which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welſh* (of whom he had now the gouernment) into open act of rebellion, and to make ſpoyle of the *English*, as his did of them: whereupon he craues meanes of his father, the Queene, and his Vncle *Richard* to ſuppreſſe them. But all was vented already, the Kings treaſure was gone ouer the Alpes, Earle *Richard* had lent more then he could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had ſpent that of the Queenes.

The King is ſtill at his ſhifts to ſupply his euerlaſting neceſſities. Now hee comes himſelfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voyce pronounced, *That euery Shrieſe, which appeared not yearly in the Oſtaues of S. Michel, with his money, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the firſt day ſhould be amerced fine Marks for the ſecond, tenne, for the third ſifteene, for the fourth, to be redeemed at the Kings pleaſure. In like ſort, that all Cities and Freedomes which answer by their Bayliſſes, vpon the ſame default ſhould be amerced, & the fourth day to looſe their freedoms. Beſides euery Shrieſe, throughout England is amerced in fine Markes for that they did not diſtraine within their Countreies vpon whomſoeuer held 10. pound land per annum, and came not to be made knight, or freed by the King.* Then ſals he to the examination of meaſures for Wine & Ale, for Buſhels and weights, which likewiſe brought in ſome ſmall thing, and euery yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets ſome thing of them.

But now there fell out a buſineſſe that entertayned ſome time, and gaue occaſion to amaze the world with conceits of ſome great aduantage and honor to the Kingd. by the

the Election of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, to bee King of *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, and by them is he sent for to receive that Crowne: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence, necessary to sway busineses in the Kingdome, were unwilling, & diswade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry* the *Lamptre* of *Turing*, and *William* Earle of *Holland*: but others, and especially the King (who was willing to be rid of him, as one he had often found too great for a subject: and being a King abroad hee might make use of him) perswades it to take it vpon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

But the *Germane* Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare how after the murther of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were diuided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to vphold their auncient Custome in Electing one of their owne Country, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declining State; which was more politike. Long were the conflicts of their Councells: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselves, some would haue *Richard*, brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonse* King of *Spaine*, both of them not onely contending who should haue it, but who should giue most to buy it: in the end *Richard* being neere at hand, and his mony the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Meiz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palgrave*, whose voyces he is said to haue bought, and afterward is crowned at *Aquisgrane*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, hee proceedes in all violent, and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his Election, and hauing consumed himselfe both by his excessiue gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in war with his Nobles. Thus they deliuer it.

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and Sir *John Mansel*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him ouer, on whom, the Earle bestowes 500. Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend 100. Markes a day for ten yeares, besides his reuenues in *England*.

The French, and especially the King of *Spaine* are much displeased with this advancement, complaining to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to haue bene first elected, but being, it seemes a Philosopher, and studious in the Mathematikes (which he first reuiued in *Europe*) hee was drawing Lines, when he should haue drawne out his purse, and so came preuented of his hopes.

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the iollity of the Kingdome vpon this new promotion, & to set forward another) the King calls a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond*, clad in an *Apulian* habit) he vses these words: *Behold my good Subjects, here my sonne Edmond whom God of his grace hath called to the dignity of regall excellency, how fitting and worthy is he the fauor of you all, and how inhumane, and tyrannous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him Counsell, & ayde? And then shewes them, how by the aduice and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of England, he had for attaining the Kingdome of Sicile bound himselfe, vnder Couenant of loosing his Kingdome of England, in the summe of 140. thousand Markes. Moreouer how he had obtained the Tenth of the Clergy, for 3. yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new rate, without deduction of expences vnlesse very necessary: besides their first fruits likewise for 3. yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be iudged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, after they had made their pitifull excuses, in regard of their pouerty, they promised vpon the vsuall condition of *Magna Charta*, &c. so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to giue him 52. thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.*

The Earle of Cornwall Elected King of the Romans.

Richard crowned at Aquisgrane.

1257.
Anno.
Reg. 41
15. Parliament

52. thousand Markes, vpon conditions promised by the Clergy.

1258.
Anno.
Re. 42

The next yeare after is another Parliament at *London*, wherein, vpon the Kings pressing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: they will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if unadvisedly, he without their consents, and counsell bought the Kingdome of Sicile, and had beene deceined, he should impute it to his own imbecillity, & bin instructed by the example of his prouident brother, who, when the same kingdome was offered unto him by Albert the Popes Agent, absolutely refused it, in regard it lay so far off; So many Nations betweene: the canils of the Popes: the infidelity of the people: and the power of the pretender, &c. Then repeate they their owne grieuances, the breach of his promises, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworne to obserue: the insolence of his brethren, and other Strangers, against whom, by his order, no Writ was to passe out of the Chancery, for any cause whatsoever: How their pride was intell-rable, especially that of William de Valence, who, most reproachfully had given the lie to the Earle of Leicester, for which he could not be righted vpon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himselfe was so poore, as he could not repress the small forces of the Welsh that wasted his Country, but going the last yeare against them, and effecting nothing, returned with dishonour. The King hearing this (as he was apt vpon rebukes soundly vged to be sensible, and his owne necessities constraining him thereunto) humbles himselfe, and tels them: how he had often by ill counsell beene seduced, and promises by his oath, which he takes on the tombe of Saint Edward, to reforme all these errors. But the Lords not knowing how to hold their euer-changing Proteus (saith *Paris*) in regard the businesse was difficult, get the Parliament to be adiourned till Saint Barnabas day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In the meane time the Earles Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford, the Earle Marshall Bigod, Spencer and other great men confederate, and prouide by strength to effect their desires. Whist the King put to his shifts to obtaine money, gets the Abbot of Westminster, vpon promise of high preferment to put his Seale and that of his Couent to a deed obligatory, as a surety for three hundred Markes, that by his example hee might draw on others to doe the like. Sending his trusty Counsaylors, and Clerke Simon Passelene abroad with his Letters, and this Deede vnto other Monasteries. But Passelene, notwithstanding all the diligence and skill he could vse, by threats or otherwise: telling them, how all they had came from the benignity of Kings, and how their Soueraigne was Lord of all they had, they flattely refuse to yeelde to any such Deede. Saying, they acknowledged the King to bee Lord of all they had, but so, as to defend, not to destroy the same. And thus he comes likewise disappoynted in this proiect.

The Prince, who likewise must participate in the wants of his father, was driuen to mortgage the Towne of *Stamford*, *Braham* and many other things, to William de Valence, who out of his store, supplied him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it layde a recentement on the necessity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and Enuy on the other whose superfluity made him odious.

But now comes assembled the Parliament at *Oxford*, and in a hot season (the worst time for consultation) and here burst out that great impostume, of discontent so long in gathering. The trayne which the Lords brought with them, was pretended to bee for some exploit against the Welsh, vpon the end of the Parliament: and their securing the ports, to preuent forrainers, but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and Hands giuen to each other, shewed that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, and require the obseruation thereof according vnto the Oathes, and Orders formerly made. The Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer to be ordained by publike choice: The 24. Conseruators, of the Kingdome to be confirmed, 12. by the Election of the Lords, and 12. by the King, with whatsoeuer else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnly to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

But the Lords left not here, the Kings brethren, the Poictouines and other Strangers must

Prince Edward mortgages *Stamford* and other townes to William de Valence.

The Barons expostulate for their former liberties.

must be presently remiooued, and the Kingdome cleered of them, and this they would haue all the Peeres of the Land sworne to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein*, and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of Romans, the last refusing to take his Oath without leaue of his father, they plainly told him, *That if his father would not consent with the Baronage in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England.* In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their fortunes, and exiled by prescription vnder the Kings owne hand directed to the Earles of *Hereford*, and *Surrey*, with charge not to passe either their *Money, Armes, or Ornaments* but in such sort as the Lords appointed: and after their departure, he enioyneth the City of *Bristow*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to ariue, vnlesse they did so behaue themselves, as both he and the Lords should like.

Cron. Lichfield,
Henry eldest
sonne to the
King of Ro-
mans refuseth
to take his
Oathe.
Chrus 49.
H'n 3.

The *Poictouines* retyring to *Bolongne* in *France* send to King *Louys* to craue safe passage through his Country into *Poiston*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had bin informed how they had defamed her Sister of *England*) was, by her meanes denyed at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leicester* (whose estimation was great in *France*) follows them with all eagernesse thither, to incense the French against them. And as they whom Enuy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure euer to haue all the thrusts possible to set them headlong into disgrace with the world; so now the death, and sicknesse of diuers great men and others hapning in *England* soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poisons supposd to haue been prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of *Glocester* in a sicknesse sodainly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; And his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their neere servants and their Cooks *Walter Scoiny* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed vpon presumptions at *Winchester*. *Elias* a conuerted Iew, is said to haue confessed, that in his house the poison was concocted, but it was when he was a Deuill, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serues the turne. Euery man that had receiued any wrong by those great men, now put vp their complaints, and are heard, to the agrauation of their insolence and iniustice. *Guido de Rochfort* a *Poictouin*, to whom the King had giuen the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his goods confiscat. *William Bussey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Towre of *London*, and most reprochfully vsed, as an especiall minister of his Masters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captain of the Castle of *Doner*, is set to intercept whatsoever the *Poictouines* conueied that way out of *England*, and much treasure of theirs, and the elect of *Winchesters* is by him there taken: besides great sums committed to the new Temple, are found out, and seized into the Kings hands. And, as vsually in such heats, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-gouerned people think they are not forgotten) the new chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publike voyce) procures that 4. knights in euery shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and vnder their hands and Seales certifie the same, by a certaine day, to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreouer order was taken that from thenceforth, no man should giue anything (besides prouisions) for iustice, or to hinder the same, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grieuously punished. Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publike it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforced the seruices of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *totidem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the Common state, and took the like assurance of all Shirifs, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publike ministers, searching the behauiour of many strict commissioners vpon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the kings necessity must be repared out of the Estates of his people, and how hee must not want whilst they had it, wherupon the King sends forth proclamation: *How certen malicious persons had falsly and seditiously reported, that he ment unlawfully to charge his Subiects, & subuert the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and by these subtile suggestions, altogether false, auerted the hearts*

Mat. Par.

Regist. in Scacc.
William Rish-
angar.

1252
Anno.
Reg. 42

15. Parliament
at London.
Ordinat. inter
Record Cuir.
Lond.
*Licet omnibus
de Regno nostro
contra nos in-
surgere, & ad
grauamen no-
strum opem &
operam dare ac
si nobis in nullo
reuerenter
Chart. Orig. sub
Sigillo.
The Lords
require an
oath of him.*

The Oath of
the King of
Romans.

1259.
Anno.
Re. 44

1261.
Anno
Reg. 45
He resignes
Normandy,
&c.

hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them, not to giue credit to such perturbers, for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due vnto them, and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his letters to be made Patents.

But now *Monfort*, *Glocester* and *Spencer*, who had by the late institution of the 24. Conseruators, drawne the intire managing of the Kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at *London* where the Authority of the 24. is deliuered vnto themselues, and order taken that three at the least, should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custody of Castles, and other busineses of the Kingdome, of the Chancellor, Chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasurer, and of all Officers great and small. And here they binde the King to loose to them their Legale obedience whensoever he infringed his Charter.

In this State stood the Kingdome, when intelligence was giuen to the Lords that *Richard King of Romans* had a purpose to come ouer into *England*, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) least he were sent for by the King to come with power to subuert them, by the example of King *John*. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his comming, & to require of him an Oath before he should land, not to preiudice the now established orders of the Kingdome: which he sternely refuses to doe, saying: *He had no Peere in England being the sonne and brother of a King, and was above their power: and if they would haue reformed the Kingdome, they ought first to haue sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a businesse of so high a Nature.* The Lords vpon returne of this answer send presently to gard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to incounter him if occasion were offered. But finding his traine small, accompanied onely with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, vpon his promise to take their propounded oath receiue him to Land; but would neither permit the King (who came likewise thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into *Douer* Castle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earle of *Glocester* standing forth in the middest, calls out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard Earle of Cornewall*, who in reuerent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornewall doe here sweare vpon the Holy Euangelists that I shall bee faithfull, and diligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the Councell of wicked persons ouermuch disordered, bee an effectuall coadintor to expell the rebels and disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inuolably obserue vnder payne of loosing all the Land I haue in England: so helpe mee God.

In this manner deale the Lords to bind this great Earle vnto them, supposing his power to haue beene more then it was, which at length they found to bee nothing but an ayrie Title, for hauing consumed all that mighty substance abroad, in two yeares (which with great frugality, had beene many in gathering) he returnes in this manner home, poore and forsaken by the *Germans*, without any other meanes to trust vnto, but onely what he had in *England*.

Notwithstanding vpon his returne the King takes heart, and seekes all meanes to vindicate his power, dispatching first messengers secretly to *Rome*, to bee absolved from his inforced Oath, then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to be ready vpon his occasions. And to haue the more assurance of the King of *France*, and bee freedde from forraigne businesse, hee makes an absolute resignation, of whatsoeuer right hee had to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldomes of *Anion*, *Poitou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* giues him three hundred thousand pounds (some say crownes) of *Anionine* money, and grants him to enioy all *Guien* beyond the riuier *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantonze* to the riuier of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limosin*, and *Quercy* for him and his successors doing their Homage, and Fealty to the Crowne of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitayne*, and a Peere of that Kingdome.

The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and obseruations of their orders, which was hard to do:
for

for consilting of manifold dispositions, there was daily wauering, sometimes Pikes amongst themselves, in so much as the Earle of *Leicester* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Glocester* finding him staggering, *that he cared not to liue with such men, whom he found so mutable and uncertaine, for said he, my Lord of Glocester, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you haue undertaken for the good of the Kingdome.* And as he incenced others, so had he thole that animated him, as *Walter Bishop of Worcester*, and *Robert Bishop of Lincolne* who inioyted him vpon remission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause vnto death, affirming *how the peace of the Church of England could neuer be established but by the materiall sword.*

The Lords
combine a-
gainst the K,

W. Rylanger.

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence giuen against them by the King of *France*, made Arbitrer of the quarrell, who yet though he condemned the prouisions of *Oxford*, allowed the confirmation of King *Iohns* Charter: by which distinction he left the matter as he found it: for those prouisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded vpon that Charter. Howsoeuer his sentence much aduantaged the King of *England*, and made many to dispen-
1262.
Anno.
Re. 46

ce with their Oath, and leaue their party. Amongst whom was *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Cornwall* (on whom the Prince had bestowed the Honour of *Tjckhill*) who comming to the Earle of *Leicester* told him, he would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allyes: but said hee, my Lord, I will neuer beare armes against you; and therefore I craue leaue to depart. The Earle cheerefully replies: my Lord *Henry*, I am not sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancie, goe, returne with your armes, I feare them not at all. About the same time *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leisborn*, *Hamo l Strange*, and many other (wonne with gifts) depart from the Barons.

1263.
Anno.
Re. 47.

Shortly after *Roger de Mortimer* of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the lands of the Earle of *Leicester*, who had now combined himselfe with *Lewellin* Prince of *Walles*, and had sent forces to inuade the lands of *Mortimer* in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about 3. yeeres after the Parliament at *Oxford*. The Prince takes part with *Mortimer*, surprises the Castle of *Brecknocke*; with other places of strength, which hee deliuers to his custody. The Earle of *Leicester* recouers the towne and Castle of *Glocester*, constraines the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an army to *Worcester*, posses-
The begin-
ning of the
warres,

1264.
Anno.
Re. 48.

sesses him of the Castle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

The King, doubting his approach to *London* (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed, vpon these conditions: *that all the Castles of the King should be deliuered to the keeping of the Barons: the Prouisions of Oxford, should be inuiolably obserued: All strangers by a certaine time should auoyde the Kingdome, except such as by a generall consent, should be held faithfull, and profitable for the same.* Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified *Windfor* Castle, victualled, and therein placed strangers to defend it, and himselfe marches to the towne of *Bristow*, where in a contention betweene the Citizens, and his people being put to the worfe, he sends for the Bishop of *Worcester* (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect, and conduct him backe. When he comes neere *Windfor*, he gets into the Castle, which the Earle of *Leicester* comes to besiege, and being about *Kingstone*, the Princemeets him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes Siege to the Castle, that was rendred vnto him, the stranger turned out, and sent home into *France*.

The King to get time conuokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein he wonne many Lords to take his part, & with them (the Prince, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, *Henry* his sonne, *William Valence* with the rest of his brethren lately returned) he marches to *Oxford*, whither diuers Lords of *Scotland* repaire to him: as *Iohn Comin*, *Iohn Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* & others, with many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Percy*, *Basset*, &c. From *Oxford* with all his forces he marches to *Northamp*, where he tooke prisoners, *Simon Monfort* the younger, with 14. other principall men, thence to *Nottingham* making spoile of such possessions, as appertained to the Barons in those parts.

17. Parlia-
ment held at
London.
Scotish Lords
come to ayde
the King of
England.

The

The Earle of *Leicester* in the meane time, drawes towards *London* to recouer and makes good that part, as of chiefeft importance, and seekes to secure *Kent* and the Ports. Which halts the King to stop his proceeding, and succour the Castle of *Rocheſter* besieged.

Success, and authoritie now growes strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Gloceſter*, in behalfe of themselves, and their party write to the king, humbly protesting their loyalty, and how they opposed onely against such as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had belyed them. The king returnes answer; how themselves were the perturbors of him and his state: enemies to his person, and sought his and the Kingdoms destruction, and therefore desys them. The Prince, and the Earle of *Cornewall* send likewise their letters of defiance vnto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or vnwilling to put it to the hazard of a Battaille, mediate a peace, and send the Bishops of *London*, and *Worceſter* with an offer of 30. thousand Markes to the King, for damages done in these warres, so that the statutes of *Oxford* might be obserued: which yeeldingnesse, the other side supposing to argue their debility, made them the more neglectiue, and securer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker side (more watchfull of aduantages) to haue the better.

The Earle, seeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man skilfull in his worke) takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected, and supplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the side of a hill neere *Lewys*, where this battaille was fought, certaine ensignes without men, in such sort as they might seeme a farre off, to be squadrons of suckors to second those he brought to the incounter, whom he caused all to weare white-crosses, both for their own notice, and the signification of his cause, which, he would haue to be for Iustice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornewall* and his Sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the *Scottish* Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warreine*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignian* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Bigod*, Eare *Marshall* saue themselves by flight, fife thousand are slaine in this defeat, which yet was not all the blood, and destruction this businesse cost.

All this yeere, and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monfort* in possession of his prisoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in, all the strongest Castles of the Kingdome. And now (as it vsually fals out in confederations where all must be pleased or else the knot will dissolue) debate arises betweene the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Gloceſter*, about their diuidend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as fortune makes men to forget themselves) is taxed to doe more for his owne particular, then the common good: to take to himselfe the benefite and disposition of the Kings Castles: to vsurpe the redemption of prisoners at his pleasure, to prolong the businesse, and not to vse the meanes of a Parliament to end it: his sonnes also presuming vpon his greatnesse grow insolent, which made *Gloceſter* to forsake that side, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford* had gotten a power about him of such as attended the opportunitie of turning fortune, and to reuenge the dishonour of one Battaille by another.

The reuolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of strength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leicester* to stop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his army about *Worceſter*) imbattailes in a plaine neere *Euesham*, to incounter him: and noting the manner of the approach of his army, said to those about him: these men come brauely on, they leaunt it not of themselves, but of mee. And seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and overlaid with numbers, aduised his friends *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Basset*, and others to shifte for themselves, which when he saw they refused to doe: then said he, let vs commit our soules to God, for our bodies are theirs, and so vnder taking the maine waight of the Battaille, perished vnder it. And with him are slaine his sonne *Henry*, eleuen other Barons with many thousands of common souldiers. At the instant of his death, there hapned so terrible a thunder, lightning, and darknesse, as it gaue them, as much horror, as their hideous worke.

And so ends *Monfort* this great Earle of *Leicester*, too great for a subiect, which had hee

The Barons
mediate a
peace.

The Battaille
of *Lewis*.

The King,
Prince, and
others taken
prisoners.

1265.

Anno.

Re. 49

Monfort taxed
of wrong.
The Earle of
Gloceſter
leaves him.

The Earle
Monfort slaine

hee

hee not beene, he might haue beene numbred amongst the worthiest of his time. How-
soeuer, the people which honoured, and followed him in his life, would (vpon the fame
of his miracles) haue worshipped him for a Saint after his death, but it would not bee
permitted by Kings.

And here this Battaile deliuers the Captiue King, (but yet with the losse of some of
his owne as well as his subiects blood, by a wound casually receiued therein) and ridde
him of his Iaylor *Monfort*, whom he hated and long feared more then any man liuing,
as himselfe confessed vpon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament
at *Oxford*) vpon *Thames*, there hapned a sodaine clap of thunder, wherewith the
King was much affrighted and willed presently to be set on shore at the next landing,
which was at *Duresme* house, where *Monfort* then lay, who seeing the King arriuing
hasts downe to meete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the storme, said, *that*
hee needed not now to feare, the danger was past. No, Monfort, said the King, I feare thee,
more then I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the World. And now the King with the vi-
ctorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repaires to *Winchester*,
where a Parliament is conuoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are disinheri-
ted, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The *Londoners* haue
their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, sonnes of the Earle of
Leicester, with the disinherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaile of *Euesham*
take, and defend the Isle of *Ely*. The Castle of *Killingworth* defended by the seruants
of the late Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the Seige of
halfe a yeere against the King and his Army: in the end their victuals fayling they
yeeld vpon condition to depart, their liues, members, and goods saved. And it is worthy the
note that we finde no execution of blood, except in open Battaile, in all these combustions, or any
noble man to dye on a Skaffold, either in this Kings raigne, or any other since *William the first*,
which is now almost 200. yeeres. Onely in *Ann. 26.* of this King, *William Marisc*, the sonne
of *Geoffrey Marisc* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned of Piracie, and treason was
hanged, beheaded, and quartered: and is the first example of that kinde of punishment
we finde in our Histories.

After the Parliament at *Winchester* the King goes with an army against the disinhe-
rited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute, and desperate persons
strongly fastned together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*,
by mediation of friends, and promises of fauour came in and submitted themselves to
the King, who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of *Cornwall* their Vncle and the Lord
Philip Basset, had restored them to their Estates, but for *Glocester*, and others who
(doubting their spirits) wrought to hold them downe where their fortune had layd
them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their
fortunes other where, which they did, the yonger in *Italy*, the Elder in *France*: where
they were propagators of two great Families. Their mother was banished shortly after the
battaile of *Euesham*. A Ladie of eminent note, the daughter and sister to a King, nocent on-
ly by her fortune, who from the Coronet of miserable glory, betooke her to the vaille of quiet pie-
ty, and dyed a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*.

Three yeares after this, the disinherited Barons held out in those fastneses of the
Kingdome where they could best defend themselves, made many excursions, and spoiles
to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions, and conditions of ren-
der are proposed, wherein the Councill are diuided. *Mortimer* now an eminent man
in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are auerres to any
restoration, alledging it a great act of iniustice, for them to be forced to forgo what the King
had for their paines, & fidelitie bestowed on them, and the others iustly forfeited, and therefore
would hold what they had. *Glocester* with the 12. ordained to deale for the peace of the
stare, and other his friends which were many, stand mainly for restoration. This caused
new pikes of displeasure, in so much as *Glocester*, who, conceiuing his turning, not
so to serue his turne, as he expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from
the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on Saint *Edwards* day: sends messengers
to warne the King, to remove strangers from his Councill, and obserue the prouisions of *Oxf.*
according

1266.
Anno.
Reg. 50

18 Parliament
held at *Win-*
chester.
All who took
part with
Monfort disin-
herited.

Motions of
peace made to
the disinheri-
ted Lords.

1267.
Anno.
Reg. 51.

The Earle of
Glocest. revolt.

19. *Parliamēt.*

according to his last promise made at Euesham; otherwise that he should not meruaile, if himselfe did what he thought fit. Thus had victorie no peace, the distemperature of the time was such, as no sword could cure it; recourse is had to Parliament (the best way if any would serue, for remedy) and at *Bury* is the state conuoked, where likewise all who held by Knights seruice are summoned to assemble, with sufficient horse and armour for the vanquishing of those disherited persons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Isle of *Ely*.

John de Warreine Earle of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to perswade the Earle of *Glocester* (who had now leuied an army vpon the borders of *Wales*) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament, which he refuses to do, but yet thus much the Earles had of him vnder his hand, and seale: neuer to beare armes against the King, or his Sonne *Edward*, but to defend himselfe, and pursue *Roger Mortimer*, and other his enemies, for which he pretended to haue taken armes. The first demand in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat; for the grant of a Tenth of the Clergie for three yeeres to come, and for the yeere past, so much as they gaue the Barons for defending the Coasts against the landing of strangers. Whereto they answer, that the warre was begun by vniust desires, which yet continues, and necessary it were to let passe so euill demands, and so treat of the peace of the Kingdome; to conuert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort money, considering the land had bene so much destroyed by this warre, as it could hardly bee cuer recovered. 2. Then was it required, that the Clergie might be taxed by laymen, according to the iust valew of what appertained vnto them. They answer: it was no reason, but against all Iustice, that Lay-men should intermeddle in collecting Tenths, which they would neuer consent vnto, but would haue the ancient taxation to stand. 3. Then was it required, they should giue the Tenth of their Baronies and Lay Fee, according to the utmost valew. They answer: themselves were impouerished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay vntild by reason of the warres.

4. Then it was required, that the Clergie should in lieu of a Tenth, giue amongst them 30. thousand Markes to discharge the Kings debts contracted for *Sicilia*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*: They answer; they would giue nothing in regard all those taxations, and extorsions formerly made by the King were neuer conuerted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome. 5. All this being denied, demand is made; that all Clergie men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee should personally serue in the Kings warres. They answer, they were not to fight with the materiall, but the spirituall sword, &c. that their Baronies were giuen of meere almes, &c. 6. Then was it required, the whole Clergie should discharge the 9000. pounds, which the Bishops of *Rocheester*, *Bath*, and the Abbot of *Westminster* stood bound to the Popes Merchants for the Kings seruice at their being at the Court of *Rome*. They answer: they neuer consented to any such lone, and therefore were not bound to discharge it. 7. Then the Legat, from the part of the Pope required, that without delay predication should be made throughout the kingdome to incite men to take the Crosse for the Holy warre, whereunto answer was made, that the greatest part of the people of the Land were already consumed, by the sword, and that if they should undertake this action, few or none would be leaft to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby shewed a desire to extirpat the natives thereof, and introduce strangers. 8. Lastly, it was vrged, that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demands by their Oath at *Conentrie*; where they swore to ayde him by all meanes possible they could. They answer, that when they took that oath, they vnderstood no other ayde, then spirituall, and holesome counsell, So nothing was obtained but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat, likewise imploies sollicitors to perswade the disherited *LL*. which held the Isle of *Ely*, to returne to the faith, and vniity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the forme prouided at *Conentrie*, for redeeming their inheritances from such as held them by gift from the King for 7. yeeres profits, and to leaue of their robberies. The disherited returne answer to the Legat. First, that they held the faith, they receiued from their Catholike Fathers, and their obedience to the *Romane Church*, as the head of al Christianity; but not to the auarice and wilfull exaction of those who ought to gouerne the same. And how (their Predecessors whose heires they were, hauing conquered this land by the sword) they held themselves vniustly disherited, that it was against the Popes Mandat, they should be so dealt withal.

That

That they had formerly taken their Oath to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their liues. And seeing they warred for the benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their liues by the goods of their Enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cause to be restored unto them, that they might not be driuen to make depredation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the Kings & Princes followers made rides, and committed great robberies which to make them odious, were imputed, and giuen out to be done by them, wherefore they wish the Legat to giue no credit to such reports: for if they should finde any such amongst them, they would themselves doe Iustice upon them without delay.

Besides they declare to the Legat, that he had irreuerently elected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of Winchester, London and Chichester, men circumspect and of deepe iudgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdome was in great part weakned to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might be restored to their Lands without redemption. That the prouisions of Oxford might be obserued. That they might haue Ostages deliuered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for fine yeeres to come, untill they might perceiue how the King would performe his promises.

Thus they treat, not like men whom their fortunes had laide on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: so much wrought either the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornnes so exasperates the King as the next yeere following, hee prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them vp, and Prince Edward, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in diuers places, and constraines them to yeeld. In the meane time the Earle of Gloucester, with his army collected on the borders of Wales to ayde them, marched to London where, by the Citizens he was receiued: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Towre so preuailed with him, as hee againe renders himselfe to the King to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of Romans, and the Lord Philip Basset vpon forfeiture of twelue thousand Markes, if euer after he should raise any commotion.

The Earle of Gloucester reconciled.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into Wales, against Lewellin, for ayding Simon Monfort and the Earle of Gloucester, in their late attempts against him, but his wrath being by the gift of 32. thousand pounds sterling, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of warre, beene taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, wherein we see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggled to doe more then it should, and the other to doe lesse then it ought, they both had the worst, according to the vsmall euents of such imbroylements.

The next yeere after this appeasement, the Legat Ottobon signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, Edward, and Edmond, the Earle of Gloucester, and diuers Noblemen induced to vndertake the Holy Warre by the sollicitation of him: and the King of France, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe aduenture therein. So much either the desire of reuenge, with the recovery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enioying another World prouoked him to forgoe this, and hast to his finall destruction. And for that Prince Edward wanted meanes for his present furnishment, this King of France lent him 30. thousand Markes, for which he morgaged vnto him Gascoigny. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of Policie then Pietie, in this King to ingage in such manner, and vpon so especiall a caution, a yong stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same aduenture with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, either of his company or ayde, considering the inconueniences that stung these seuerall Nations heretofore by their incompetabilitie, in the same action: but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other couerings for their designs then those through which they were seene; their spirits seeme to haue beene warmed with a Nobler flame.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King Henry labours to establish the Peace

1269.
Anno.
Reg. 53

Prince Edw.
his brother
and others
vndertake the
Holy Warre.

21 Parlia-
men at
Marleborough.

Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the warre had bred, causing by proclamation *stealth of Castell to be made a crime Capitall*, and the first that suffered for the same was one of *Dunstable* who had stolne twelue Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being persued to *Redburne* was by the Baylife of Saint *Albones* (according to the Kings Proclamation condemned and beheaded. And the same yeere the King assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough* where the Statutes of that Title were enacted.

1271.

Anno.

Reg. 55

Neere two yeeres it seemes to haue beene after the vndertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set forth, a time long ynough (if those resolutions would haue beene shaken) to haue bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could giue any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well vnderstanding the world, so forward in yeares (being then 32.) so neere the possession of a Kingdome, would not haue least it, and an aged father broken with daies and trauaile to haue betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender consort *Elionor* and as it seemes then yong with childe) to a voyage that could promise nothing but danger, toyle, miserie, and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolued with those softnings of *Luxurie* and *Idleneffe* which vnmanners them. And we cannot but admire the vndauntable constancie of this Prince, whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing euen the beginning of action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, first the King of *France* who with two of his sonnes, the King of *Nauarre* and a mightie Armie, being set out before, and by the way besieging the Citie of *Tunis* in *Africa* (possessed then by the *Sarazines* that infested Christendome) perished miserably by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterprise was dashed and vtterly ouerthrowne. Besides, *Charles* King of *Sicile*, brother to this King of *France*, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Nauie by tempest. Moreouer many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leaue him and returne home. Whereupon hee is said to haue stricken his breast, and sworne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter *Tolémaïs* or *Acon*, though but onely with his Horse-keeper *Fowin*. By which speech they were againe incenced to proceed: but yet his Cozin *Henry* sonne to the King of *Romans*, obtaines leaue of him to depart, and was set on shore in *Italie*: where, notwithstanding he found what he sought to auoyde, Death; and was slaine in the Church at *Viterbo* (being at diuine seruice) by his owne Cozin German *Guy de Monfort* (sonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leicester*) in reuenge of his fathers death. The newes of which vnnaturall murder seemes to hasten the end of *Richard* King of *Romans*, who died shortly after, and the next yeere following, finished likewise *Henry* the 3. of *England* his act, in the 65. of his age hauing reigned 56. yeeres, and 20. daies. A time that hath held vs long, and taken vp more then a tenth part from the *Norman* Inuasion to this present: and yelded notes of great varietie with many examples of a crasse, and diseased State, bred both by the inequalitye, of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborne Nobilitie.

The resolution
of Prince
Edmond.

1274.

Anno.

Reg. 57

He had by his wife *Elionor* fixe sonnes, whereof only two suruiued him, *Edward* and *Edmond*: and two daughters, which liued to be married, *Margueret* the eldest to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. *Beatrice* the other to *Iohn* the first intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

His issue.

Here endeth the Life, and Raigne of Henry the third.

The

The Life, and Raigne of Edward the first.



Upon the death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the new Temple, and proclaimes his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were living, swears fealty vnto him: causes a new Seale to bee made: and appoints fit ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remains in *Palesine*, where by an *Assassin* (making shew of deliuering letters) hee receiues three dangerous wounds with a poisoned knife, whereof he was hardly recured. After

three yeares trauell, from the time of his setting forth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, he leaues *Acon* (which he went to relieue) well fortified, and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is toyally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the *Pope*, and the Princes there. Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, he is met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chabloun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turnement: Wherein againe he hazards his person to shew his valor, which may seeme to be more then became his Estate, and dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertaigned, and feasted by *Philip* 3. (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom he doth homage for all the Territories he held of that Crowne.

Thence he departs into *Aquitayne*, where he spent much time in settling his affaires. And after sixe yeares, from his first setting out, hee returnes into *England*: Receiues the Crowne (without which he had bene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in September 1275. And with him is *Eleanor* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

His Coronation.

1274.
Anno.
Reg. 3.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions vnder his Father, after the great Defeat he gaue the Barons at *Euesham*: The prosecution of the dilherited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and trauaile: His single Combat with *Adam Gordon* the Outlaw neere *Farnham*: His great aduenture and Attempts in the East: And finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his Maturity of yeares (being about 35. before hee came to the Crowne) might well preface what an able Master he would prooue in the mannage thereof. And how (by these aduantages of Opinion, and Reputation) he was likely (as he did) to make a higher Improvement of the Royalty; hauing wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as hee seemes the first Conqueror, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his government appeares.

And euen at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made triall of their patience, and had the Fifteenth of all their goods (*Cleargy* and *Lay*) granted vnto him, without any Noyse as we heare off. The *Cleargie* hauing yielded before a Tenth for two yeers to be paid to him, & his brother *Edmond* toward the charge of the *Holy warre*. But yet all this could not diuert the Designes he had to abate the power *Ecclesiasticall*, which by experience of former times, he found to be a part growne too strong for the Soueraigntie, whensoever they combined with the *Lay Nobilitie*: and therefore now at first (whilst he was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) he began to set vpon their priuiledges. And in Anno Reg. 6. (to extend saith the Monkish Historie, the Royall Authoritie) hee depriued many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their Liberties, and tooke from the Abbot, and Couent of *Westminster* the Returne of Writtes graunted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* 3. The next yeere after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the increase of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as being detrimetall to the Kingdome, and the Militarie

Quintam Deciman omnium bonorum Temporalium tam Clericorum, quam Laicorum in audito more ad vnguem taxatam Rex iusserat confiscari, Mat. West. His proceeding against the Clergy.

Mat. West.

service of the same. In the second Statute of Westminster, he defalked the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Iudges, Hee left not heere, but afterward growing more vpon them, he required the Moietie of all their goods, as well Temporall, as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and grieft) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demand. And at the first propounding thereof, one Sir John Hauering Knight stands vp amongst them, as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at Westminster (and said) Reuerend Fathers, if any heere will contradict the Kings demand in this businesse, let him stand out in the midst of the Assembly, that his person may bee knowne, and seene, as one guilty of the Kings peace. At which speech they all sate mute. So much were the times altered since the late reigne of the father, wherein such a businesse could not haue so passed. But now this Actiue King being come home, and hauing composed his affaires abroad, must needs be working, both to satisfie his owne desire in amplifying his power, and intertayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must bee taken in hand.

An occasion
taken for sub-
duing of
Wales.

Wales, that lay neereft the danger of a superiour Prince, and had euer strugled for liberty, and the rule of a Native Gouvernor, had alwayes bene the Receptracle, and ayde of the Rebellious of England: had euer combined with Scotland to disturbe the peace, and gouernment thereof: hauing neuer her borders without blood, and mischief; was an apt subiect to bee wrought vpon in this time. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose to quarrell, especially with an Inferiour. Leoline, now Prince of that Prouince, who had so long held in the fire of the late ciuill warres of England (and deerely payde for it) hauing refused vpon summons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his first Parliament, alleadged hee well remembered how his father Griffin burst his necke out of the Tower of London, for which hee brooked not that place, and therefore returned answer, *That in any other, vpon Hostages giuen him, or Commissioners sent to take his Fealty, hee would (as it should please the King) bee ready to render it.* This gaue occasion that King Edward the next yeare after, goes with a powerfull Armie: enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as Leoline (vnable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaines it, but vpon those conditions, as made his Principalitie little different from the tenure of a subiect. And besides he was fined in fifty thousand pounds sterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *per annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in some thing that might be a tye to this peace, restored vnto him Elionor (daughter to Simon Montfort late Earle of Leicester) who, with her brother Almericke had bene lately taken prisoners by certaine shippes of Bristol, as shee was passing out of France into Wales, to bee made the miserable wife of this vnfortunate Prince. Whose restraint, and affliction might perhaps bee a motiue, the rather to incline him to this lownesse of submission, and accord: which, as it was made by force (an vnsecure contractor of Couenants) so was it by disdaine, as ill an obseruer, soone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Iustice vpon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordring Princes) or the euer-working passion of desire of Liberty in the Welsh, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill infensed closure. And out is Leoline in armes; surprises the Castles of Flint, and Ruthland, with the person of the Lord Clifford sent Iusticiar into those parts: and commits all acts of Hostility. With him ioynes his brother David, on whom King Edward (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood: matched him to the daughter of the Earle of Derby, a rich Widdow: and giuen him, in stead of his other lands, the Castle of Denbigh with 1000. pounds *per annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powerfull inclinations of Nature. *The ayding his Country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.*

King Edward aduertised of this Reuolt (beeing at the Vize in Wiltshire) prepares an Army to repress it. But before his setting foorth, hee priuately goes to visit his Mother Queene Elionor liuing in the Nunnery at Amsbury; with whom whilst he conferred

1279.
Anno.
Reg. 4.

1278.
Anno.
Reg. 6.

ferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who fained himselfe (being blinde) to haue receiued his sight at the Tombe of *Henry 3.* As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. And wished his Mother in no case to beleene him. His mother, who much reioyced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew sodainely into rage, and willed the King to anoyde her Chamber. The King obeyes, and going forth meetes with a Clergy man, to whom he tels the story of this Imposter, and merrily said, *He knew the Iustice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eies (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grievances, and the causes that draue them to reuolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which hee fore-saw would light vpon the Nation. But nothing could hee effect, certaine petty defeits *Leoline* had giuen to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecy of *Merlin* (that *Guine of Error*) how hee should be shortly crowned with the Diademe of *Bute*; so ouerweighed this poore Prince, as hee had no care for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after he was slaine in battaile by a common souldier, and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to bee crowned with Iuie, and set vpon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Buchb.*

Shortly after, to finish this worke of blood, is *Dauid* his brother taken in *Wales*, and iudged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse taylor about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunk of his Body deuided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his brother on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *Torke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kind to this Kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Noble man, that we read of in our History.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be vsuall to this Nation. And euen this King (vnder whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And iust at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonfus* his eldest sonne of the age of 12. yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnaruan* (an infant, vncertaine how to prooue) is heire to the Kingdome; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose vnnaturall destruction, wee shall likewise heare of in his time.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left vnto the *Brittaines* the ancient possessors of this Isle) to bee vnited to the crowne of *England*, Anno. Reg. 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; hauing little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Aunceltors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraine Princes of power out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often inuaded, so often reduced to extremity, so eagerly pursued, almost by euery King, and saide, to haue bene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preferue their liberty. And how it was now at last gotten, and vpon what ground we see; But the effect prooues better then the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the Sword is not to giue an Account to *Iustice*; the publike benefite makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Denision and Plurality of States in this Isle, hauing euer made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would haue it to bee gouerned but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could neuer enioy. And now this prudent King (no lesse prouident to preferue then subdue this Prouince) established the government there-

1283
Anno.
Reg. 11.

The death of
Leoline the
last of the
Welsh Princes.

The execution
of *Dauid*
his brother at
Shrewsbury
the first in
that kinde.

The death of
the Prince
Alphonfus.

Wales vnited
to *England*.

1286
Anno.
Reg. 13.

of according to the Lawes of England, as may bee seene by the Statute of Rutland, Anno, Reg. 12.

This worke effected, and setled. King Edward passes ouer into France (vpon notice of the death of *Philip le Hardy*) to renew and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King *Philip 4.* (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth Homage for *Aquitaine*, hauing before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for euer. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile*, and *Aragon* in *Spain* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) prisoner in *Aragon*, paying for his ransom thirty thousand pounds.

1289
Anno.
Reg. 16

After three yeares and a halfe beeing abroad, he returnes into England, which must now supply his Coffers emptyed in this Voyage. And occasion is giuen (by the generall complaints made vnto him of the ill administration of Iustice in his absence) to inflict penalties vpon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Authority) the Necessity of reforming so grieuous a mischief in the Kingdome, gaue easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, vpon due examinations, and prooffe of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

Sir Ralph Hengham a chiefe
Commissioner for the
gouernment
of the king-
dome in the
kings absence.
Officers fined
for bribery
and extortion.

First Sir *Ralph Hengham* Chiefe Iustice of the higher Bench, seven thousand Marks. Sir *John Louet* Iustice of the lower Bench, three thousand Markes. Sir *William Bromton* Iustice, 6000. Markes. Sir *Solomon Rochester*, foure thousand Markes. Sir *Richard Boyland*, 4000. Markes. Sir *Thomas Sodington*, two thousand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton*, 2000. Markes: these foure last were Iustices Itenerants. Sir *William Saham* 3000. Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolles, 1000. Markes. *Roger Leicester*, 1000. Markes. *Henry Bray Escheater*, and Iudge for the Iewes, 1000. Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods, and whole estate confiscated to the King, Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, these fines being to the Kings Coffers aboute one hundred thousand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to aboute 300. thousand Markes. A mighty treasure to bee gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those dayes, when Litigation, and Law had not spread it selfe into those infinit wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange, euen to our greater getting times. But peraduenture now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger then the Law (as all trades of profit come ouerpestered with multitude of Traders) is the cause (that like a huge Riuer disperfed into many little Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, then those of former times, and Offices now of Iudicature peraduenture more piously executed.

The banishment of the
Iewes.

Of no lesse griuance, this King the next yeare after eased his people, by the banishment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Hauing before (in Anno, Reg. 9.) offered a fift part of their goods to haue them expelled, but then the Iewes gaue more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their Immooueables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite valew. But now hath hee made his last commodity of this miserable people, which hauing bene neuer vnder other couer then the will of the Prince, had continually serued the turne in all the necessarie occasions of his Predecessors, but especially of his father and himselfe. And in these reformatiōs that are easfull, and pleasing to the State in generall; the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, then any other motiue, which may bee for his profit. And howsoeuer some particular men suffer (as some must euer suffer) yet they are the fairest, and safest waies of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not onely discharges the Prince of al imputation of rigor, but renders him more beloued & respected of his people. And this King, hauing much to doe for money (comming to an empty Crowne) was driuen to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, hee had already drawne

drawne from his subiects. As in the first yeare of his Raigne, Pope Gregory procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for 2. yeares; besides a Fifteenth of them, & the Temporality. In the third likewise another Fifteenth of both. In the Fifth, a Twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh warres. In the seauenth the Old Money was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297, were at one time executed at London, and this brought him in a great benefit. In Anno, Reg. 8. seeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which opposed by the Earle Warreine, who drew out his sword vpon the Writte, saying, *How by the same he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists and obtaines a Fifteenth of the Clergy. In the eleauenth, he had a Thirtieth of the Temporality, and a Twentieth of the Clergie for the Welsh Wars. In the Thirteenth, *Esuane*, forty shillings for euery Knights fee for the same purpose. In the fourteenth, he had a thousand Marks of certaine Marchants fined for false Weights. In the seauenteenth, those fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the eighteenth, this Confiscation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the english. After this Anno, Reg. nineteenth pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleauenth part of all Mowables, and shortly after the Pope procures him a Tenth for sixe yeares to bee collected in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and layde vp in Monasteries vntill hee were entered into *Mare Maggior*. But hee made the Collectors pay him the money gathered for three yeares without going so farre, hauing occasion to vse it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

His many
supplies and
means for
Money.

For, the crowne of Scotland (vpon the death of King Alexander, and of the daughter of his daughter Margaret, who was to inherit) was now in controuersie, Sixe Competitors pretend title thereunto, all descending from Dauid Earle of Huntingdon, younger brother to William King of Scots, and great Vncle to this late King Alexander. This title King Edward takes vpon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Ancestors ouer that kingdome. The Scots which swayd the *Interregnum*, are constrained for auoiding further inconueniences, to make him Arbitr therof, and the six Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found, betweene whom the Right lay: John Baliol Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a sonne of a younger Daughter of Alan, who had married the eldest Daughter of this Dauid brother to King William. The Controuersie held long. Twelue of either Kingdome learned in the lawes, are elected to debate the same at Berwicke: All the best *Cuilians* in the Vniuersities of France are solicited to giue their opinions, the differences, and perplexedues whereof made the decission more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation that euer begettes rather *Doubts* then *Resolutions*, and neuer knowes well how to make an end.

1290
Anno.
Reg. 17

The occasion
of his Wars
with Scotland.

King Edward
choien by the
Scots to arbitrate the right
of the pretend-
ers to that
Crowne.

1291.
Anno.

Reg. 18
Queene Elia-
nor dies.
Her Praise.

King Edward, the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes his Iourney Northward, and whilest he fought to compasse greater felicity, he lost the better part of what hee had in this world, his deere consort *Elianaor* (who had euer attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honor of Woman-hood: who is said to haue sucked the poison out of the wound giuen him by the *Assasin* in the East, when no other meanes could preserue his life) dies by the way in *Lincolnshire*. With whose Corps, in extreame grieve he returnes back to *Westminster*, causing (at all especiall places where it rested by the Way) goodly engrauen Crosses, with her Statue to be erected. As at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *West-cheape*, *Charing* and others, Gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfullnesse.

Her Funerals performed, backe hee returnes to his Scottish businesse: An now sixe yeares it was since the Death of King Alexander, and much time hauing beene spent, and nothing concluded in this controuersie, King Edward that would bee sure (whosoever preuailed) to haue the hand that should make him, deales priuately with Bruce (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promises him, if hee would yeeld Fealty and Homage to the Crowne of England, hee would inuest him in that of Scotland. Bruce answeres, *Hee was not so desirous of Rule, as thereby to infringe the Liber-*

Scottish Hist.

*Baliol made
king of Scot-
land.*

1294
Anno.
Reg. 21

ties of his Countrey. Then with the like offer he sets vpon *Baliol*, who hauing better right but lesse loue of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, then honour yeeldes thereunto: is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath Fealty done him of all the chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: comes to *New castle vpon Tyne* where King *Edward* then lay: and there (with many of his Nobles) sweares Fealty, and did Homage vnto him, as his Soueraigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to secure him, ouer-threw him. For, beeing little beloued before, heereby he became lesse: such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preservation of their Countreys liberty) grew into Stomacke against him; as hauing not onely discontented them in this Act, but shortly after in his Iustice, in the case of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the fixe Gouvernours in the time of the *Anarchie*, who had beene slayne by the Family of *Aberneth*. And the brother of his Earle now prosecuted in Law, before the King *Baliol* in his high Court of Parliament (where hauing no right done him, King *Baliol* giuing Iudgement on the side of the *Aberneths*) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither summoned: appeares, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cause was to be tried, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and stand at the place appointed for pleading: He craues to answer by a Procurator: it is denied: then himselfe arises, and discends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

*Baliol discon-
tented re-
turnes into
Scotland.*

1296
Anno.
Reg. 23

*The occasion
of the warres
betweene
England and
Scotland.*

With which Indignity (as hee tooke it) hee returnes home, with a breast full charged with indignation: Meditates reuenge, renews the ancient League with *France*: Confirms it with the marriage of his sonne *Edward*, with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad, in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*: renounces his Allegiance as vnlawfully done, beeing not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the raigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood; wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer then euer quarrell wee read of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that began it could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Reuenge of wrongs (that euer beget wrongs) lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (euen to the last, before this blessed Vnion) haue had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreame hindrance in all other their designs. Although the intention of this great and Marshall King for reducing this whole Isle vnder one gouernment, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatnesse, that euer seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can: yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and we see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God hath fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an vnstained hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting hold, which otherwise it could neuer haue done. Violence may ioyne Territories, but neuer affections together; which onely must grow voluntarily, and bee the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to haue obtained it in the fairest manner he could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-child, and heire to the last King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant soone after her grandfather) disappointed his hopes that way: and draue him to haue recourse to his Soueraignty, which beeing opposed, hee was forced to take the way of violence, both to maintaine his owne honour, and to effect what hee had begun. Some of the miserable euents were such, as now we may well spare their memory: wee content those bloody Relations should be razed out of all Record: but that they serue to shew vs the wofull calamities of our separation, and the comfortable blessings wee enioy by this our happy Vnion. Neither doth it now concerne vs to stand vpon any points of Honour, whether of the Nations did the brauest Exploites in those times, seeing who had the better was beaten

beaten, neither did the ouercommer conquer, when hee had done what hee could: That little which was gained, cost so much more then it was worth, as it had beene better not to haue beene had at all. And if any side had the Honour, it was the inuaded nation, which being the Weaker, and Smaller, seemes neuer to haue beene subdued, though often ouercome: Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to prelerue their Liberties; which neuer People of the World more Nobly defended, against so Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and Constance, it had beene impossible, but they must haue beene brought to an vtter consternation.

For all what the Powre of this Kingdome could do (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (vpon this defection of King *Baliol*, and his League made with *France*) Counter-leagues with all the Princes he could draw in, either by gifts, or Alliance to strengthen his partie abroad. As first with *Guy Earle of Flanders*, with whose Daughter hee seekes to match his Sonne *Edward*. Then with *Adolph de Nassaw* the Emperor, to whom hee sends Fifteene thousand pounds Sterling to recouer certaine lands of the Empire which *Adolph* claimed in *France*: He had likewise married one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretends Title to *Champaign*, another to *Iohn Duke of Brabant*: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets vpon the King of *France*; who had (for Certaine spoiles committed on the Coast of *Normandy*, by the *English*, and no redresse obtained) summoned King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answer it in his Court, which he refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeit all his Territories in *France*: And an Armie is presently sent forth to seize vpon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele* Constable of *France*. *Burdeaux* with diuers other Peeces of importance are taken, and fortified. For the recouerie whereof, the King of *England* sends ouer his Brother *Edmond Earle of Lancaster*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond* with eight and twentie Banners, Seauen hundred men at Armes, and a Nauie of three hundred and sixtie Saile. And notwithstanding all this mightie charge, and Forces imployed in those parts. King *Edward* sets vpon King *Baliol* (refusing vpon Summons to appeare at his Court at *Newcastle*, standing vpon his owne Defence) and enters *Scotland* with an Armie sufficient to Conquer a farre mightier Kingdome, consisting of foure thousand men at Armes on Horse, and thirtie thousand Foote, besides 500. Horse, and one thousand foote of the Bishop of *Duresme*: intending here to make speedie worke that hee might afterward passe ouer Sea. to ayde his Confederates, and bee reuenged of the King of *France*.

Berwicke is first wonne with the death of fifteene Thousand *Scots*, (our writers, report more; but nothing is more vncertaine then the number of the slaine in Battailles; and after that the Castles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Iohns* Towne were wonne or yeelded vnto him, King *Baliol* sues for peace: Submits himselfe; takes againe his oath of Fealtie to King *Edward* as his Soueraigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* was held at *Berwick*, wherein the Nobility did likewise Homage vnto him, confirming the same by their Charter vnder their hands and Seales. Onely *William Dowglass* refuses, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, then yelde to the subiection of *England*. King *Baliol* (Notwithstanding his submission) is sent Prisoner into *England*, after his foure yeeres dignitie, I cannot say Raigne: For it seemes hee had but little power, and King *Edward* returns from this expedition, leauing *Iohn Warrein Earle of Surrey and Suffex*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesley* Chiefe Iustice, with Commission to take in his name the Homages, and Fealties of all such as helde Lands of that Crowne.

And heere this Conquest might seeme to haue beene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more Blood, Trauaile, and Treasure, and all to as little effect. And now the *French* busineses (that require speedy helpe) are wholly intended. For which King *Edward* calls a Parliament at Saint *Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Citizens, and

King Edwards
combines
with other
Princes.

An Army sent
into *France*.

Another into
Scotland.

1297.
Anno.
Reg. 24

King Edwards
victories in
Scotland.

1298.
Anno.
Reg. 25

Bur-

Burgesses of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergie (vpon a prohibition from Pope Boniface, that no Tallage or Imposition, layde by any lay Prince, vpon whatsoeuer appertained to the Church should be payde) absolutely refuse to giue any thing. Which Prohibition may seeme to haue beene procured by themselves, in regard of the many Leuies lately made vpon the estate Ecclesiasticall. As in *Anno Reg.* 22. they paid the moytie of of their goods; of which the Abbay of *Canterbury* yeilded 596. pounds 7. shillings and 10. pence: and besides furnished sixe horses for the Sea-coasts. This Leauie as *Stow* notes in his collection amounted to sixe hundredth thousand pounds. And in *Anno Reg.* 23. the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides hee had a Loane of the Clergie, which amounted to 100. thousand pounds, whereof the Abbat of *Bury* payde 655. pounds.

The King
puts the Cler-
gie out of his
protection.

Notwithstanding now, vpon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergie out of his protection, whereby they were to haue no Iustice in any of his Courts (a straine of State beyond any of his Predecessours) which so amazed them beeing exposed to all offences and iniuries whatsoeuer, and no meanes to redresse themselves, as the Archbishop of *Yorke*, with the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Lincolne*, yeilded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings warres: whereby they appeased his wrath, and were receiued into grace. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocesse and part of *Lincolne*, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessities to the Monkes, conuerting the rest to the Kings vse. At length by much suite, the Abbats, and Priests giuing the fourth part of their goods, redeeme then selues, and the Kings fauour. Thus will Martiall Princes haue their turnes serued by their Subiects, in the times of their Necessities howsoeuer they oppose it.

The Lords
refuse to goe
to *Gascoigne*
except the
king went in
person.

Mat. West.

During this contract with the Clergie, the King calles a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admision of any Church-men; wherein, hee requires certaine of the great Lords to goe vnto the warres of *Gascoigne*, which required a present supply, vpon the death of his brother *Edmond* (who hauing spent much treasure, and time in the siege of *Burdeaux* without any successe, retyres to *Bayon*, then in possession of the English, and there ends his life. But they all making their excuses, euery man for himselfe; the King in great anger threatned they should either goe, or he would giue their lands to others that should. Whereupon *Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford* high Constable, and *Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolke Marshall of England*, make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer more offends, and beeing vrged againe; the Earle Marshall protested hee would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainly hee should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in person. I am not so bound said the Earle, neither will I take that iourney without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sweare by the same oath, I will neither goe, nor hang, said the Earle: and so without leaue departs.

The French
king inuades
the Earle of
Flanders to
Paris, and
there impris-
ons him.

Shortly after the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fiftene hundred men at Armes well appointed, and stood vpon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe: In regard that both his businesse in *France*, and the pressing necessitie of ayding his Confederats (whereon his honour, and whole estate abroad depended) called him ouer into *Flanders*; which the King of *France* had now inuaded; pretending the same title of Soueraignty to that Prouince, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And hauing had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other designs of the Earle *Guy*, sends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his wife, and daughter to make merry with him at *Paris*: where in steed of feasting, he makes him his prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought being his vassall to match her to the Sonne of his capitall enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and

and suffered to depart, but without his Daughter : of whose surprize , and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) he complains to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly vrge the release of the yong Lady, but all in vaine ; and thereupon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his confederates) takes armes, and defies the King of France. Who now comes with an Army of sixtie thousand against him ; which caused the King of England to make what speed he could , to releue this distressed Earle, and to leaue all his other busineses at home in that broken estate which hee did ; the Scots in reuolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet hee tooke the best order hee could : leauing the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, and certaine especiall Councillors, as the Bishop of London, the Earle of Warwick, the Lords Reginald Gray, and Clifford, and besides, to recouer the Clergie receiued the Archbishop of Canterbury into fauour.

And being ready now to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him a Roll of the generall grievances of his Subiects : Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions; with his seeking to force their seruices, by unlawfull courses: his late impost layd of fortie shillings upon euery sacke of Wooll, being before but halfe a marke, estimating the Wooll of England, to a fift part of all the substance thereof. The King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the aduice of his counsell, which were not now about him : and therefore required them , seeing they would not attend him in this iourney (which they absolutely refused to doe though hee went in person, vlesse hee had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence preiudiciall to the peace of the Kingdome. And that upon his returne, hee would set all things in good order as should be fit.

And so with 500. saile, eightene thousand men at Armes, he puts out for this iourney, wherein Fortune shewed him, how she would not be alwaies his : For contrary to his expectation he found the Country of Flanders distracted into popular factions ; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their liberties (which they respected more then their obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwise then themselues pleased. And now the King of France, daily getting vpon them (hauing wonne Lisle, Doway, Courtray, Burges, and Dam; and the Emperour Adolph sayling of his ayde and personall assistance, as vn-interested confederates often doe, especially hauing receiued their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the summe of 100. thousand Markes) draue the King of England into great perplexitie, and held him with long delayes , to his extreame trauaile and expences : which forced him to send ouer for more supply of Treasure, and giue order for a Parliament to be held at Yorke by the Prince , and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that he would not bee disappointed , he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter : promising from thenceforth neuer to charge his subiects otherwise then by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this iourney. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth penny of their goods : the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Clergie of the Prouince, the Tenth penny : Yorke, and his Prouince, the Fifth : so the Kings instant wants are releued, and the Kingdome satisfied for a present shift. But it is not well with a State , where the Prince , and people seeke but to obtaine their feuerall ends, and worke vpon the aduantages of each others necessities: for as it is vn-sincere, so it is often vnsuccessfull, and the good so done hurts more, then it pleasures.

The King thus supplied, staies all this Winter in Gaunt , where his people committing many outrages, so exasperats the Gantois; as they tooke armes, made head against them , slue many , and put the Kings person in great danger : so that, doe what the Earle Guy, and himselfe could to appease them , in satisfying such , as had receiued wrong , and giuing the rest faire words, he hardly could escape safe out of the Countrey ; which rather desired to haue the English commodities, then their companies. This was the successe of his iourney into Flanders , which he leaues at the spring of the yeere , hauing concluded a truce with the King of France for two yeeres. And the

The French King invades Flanders.

This roll of greeuances is recorded by Tho. Wa. viz. Append.

1299.

Anno.

Reg. 26

King Edward passes ouer into Flanders to the ayd of the Earle Guy.

A Parliament held at Yorke in the absence of the King.

The Gantois take armes against the English. King Edward in danger. Hee returns into England

The History
of France.

1300.
Anno.
Re. 27.

K. Ed. prosecutes his Scottish business. Will. Wallace animates the Scots against the subjection of England.

K. Ed. removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to Yorke.

The famous Battell of Fonkyrke. The Scots overthrowne.

the poore Earle *Guy* left to himselfe is shortly after made the prey of his enemy, and his prisoner in *Paris*; where he and his daughter both died of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a possession, though not to the subjection of the King of *France*. For after they had received him for their Lord, his exactions & oppressions vpon them, contrary to their ancient Liberties so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gaue *France* the greatest wound that euer before it receiued at one blow; which was at the famous battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoise* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *France*, and all the Leaders with Twelue thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to shew what this King of *France* got, by seeking to attaine this Soueraigntie of *Flanders* (as well, as we shall heare of the King of *Englands* getting vpon *Scotland* for the same title.) It is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of Eleuen yeeres, this quarrell cost the liues of 100. Thousand *French* men. Besides it draue the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to load them with new impositions as, that of *Malletostle* and the *Tenah Denier* vpon *liure* of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great outcries, and dangerous seditions among his Subjects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he presently after his returne, falls a new vpon *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his officers, and people almost out of the Countrey, slaine Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with 6000. *English*: recovered many Castles, and regained the Towne of *Berwicke*. And all by the animation and conduct of *William Wallace* a poore priuate Gentleman (though nobly discended) who feeling his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in Captiuitie or subjection) assembles certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leades them to attempt vpon whatsoever aduantages they could discouer, to annoy the *English*. And hauing therein good successe, it so increased both his Courage, and Company; as hee afterwards comes to bee the generall *Gardian* of the whole Kingdome: leads their Armies; effects those great Defeits vpon the Enemy: and was in possibilitie to haue absolutely redeemed his Countrey, from the subjection of *England* (had not some priuate Emulation amongst themselves, and the speedie coming of King *Edward*, with all his power) preuented him. So much could the spirit of one braue man worke, to set vp a whole Nation vpon their feet, that lay vtterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time haue gotten the Dominion for himselfe, as the place he had: but that hee held it more glory to preserve his Countrey, then to get a Crowne. For which, he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoever praise can be giuen to meere Vertue, must be euer due vnto him.

And now King *Edward* to bring his worke neere together, remooues his *Exchequer* and Courts of Iustice to *Yorke*: where they continued aboue Sixe yeeres. And thither calles he a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights seruice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptorie day: where are assembled Three thousand men at Armes on barded Horses, and Foure thousand other armed men on Horse without bards, with an Army on foot answerable, consisting most of *Welsh*, and *Irish*: besides, Fiue hundred men at armes out of *Gasconie*, and with this power makes he his second expedition into *Scotland*.

The Earles of *Hereford*, and *Norfolke*, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although he were thus girt with all this strength, and in the midst of his mightinesse, they vige the ratifications of the Two *Charters*, and their Pardon: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme, at the late granting thereof. The Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwicke*, and *Glocester* vndertooke for the King, that after hee had subdued his Enemies, and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, Led his Vauntguard at the famous Battell of *Fonkyrke* which the King of *England* gat, wherein are reported to be slaine, 200. Knights, and Forty thousand foot of the *Scots*. But *William Wallace* with some few escaped to make more worke.

And

And here againe that Kingdome might seeme, as if quite ouercome. Most of the estates of the Earles, and Barons of Scotland (with their titles) that had stood out were bestowed on the English Nobility, to make them the more eager to maintaine and prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at Saint Andrewes, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely Wallace) againe sweare Fealtie to the King of England.

A Parliament at Saint Andrewes.

The Scottish writers here set a wide marke of Tyrannie vpon King Edward in this expedition, as not content to carry away captiue all such as might seeme to haue any the least ability to stirre: but also endeauours to extinguish if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation: abolishing all their ancient lawes, traducing their Ecclesiasticall rights, to the custome of England: dispoiling them of their Histories: their instruments of State; their Antique Monuments, left either by the Romanes, or created by themselves: transporting all their Bookes and Bookemen into England: Sending to London the Marble stone, wherein (as the Vulgar were perswaded) the Fate of the Kingdome consisted: and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generous spirits in the way of vertue and Worthinesse. So that he bereaued them not onely of their strength: but of their mindes: supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination ouer that Kingdome.

The Scottish writers inuicigh against the tyranny of K. Ed.

This iourney ended, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised confirmation of the Two Charters, and the allowance of what disforrestation had heretofore beene made, was earnestly vrged, and in the end with much a doe grauted, with omission of the Clause, *Saluo Iure Corona nostra*, which the King laboured to haue inserted, but the people would not indure the same: the perambulation of the Forrests of England is committed to three Bishops, three Earles, and three Barons.

A Parliament at Westminster.

In this little pause of Peace at home, a Concord is, by the mediation of Pope Boniface, concluded with the King of France: whose sifter Margaret, the King of England takes to wife in the sixtie two yeere of his age (something too late for so young a March) and the Daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had beene vsurped by the French King in Gasconie. Burdeaux returnes to the obedience of the King of England (to the Merchants of which Citie he paid 150. thousand pounds for his brother Edmonds expences in the late wars, and all is well on that side. Besides the same Pope obtained permission, for John Baliol the captiue King of Scots to depart and liue in France vpon certaine lands he had there, and vndertooke for his obseruation of the Peace, and his confinement; who shortly after dies, hauing had little ioy of a Crowne or scarce leisure to know he was a King. The Decrying, and calling in of a certaine base Coine named Crocard, and Pollard, with the new stamping them againe, yeelded something to the Kings Coffers: which must be emptied in Scotland, whither againe (hauing beene scarce Eighteene moneths at home) he makes his third expedit, but did little, besides the regaining of Sterling Castle which held out three moneths siege against all his power, and Ingines reared with infinite charge, and labour. And in the end not wonne but yeelded vp by the Defendant William Oliner, vpon promise which was nor kept with him. The rest of the Scots made no head, but kept in the Mountaines, and Fastnesses of their Countrey whereby the Kings Armie hauing more to doe with barrenesse then men, suffered much affliction and many Horses were starued.

1301.
Anno
Reg. 28

Now vpon this Peace with France, the Scots beeing excluded and hauing none to relecue them, send their lamentable complaints to Pope Boniface, shewing him the afflicted state of their Countrie: the vsurpation of the King of England vpon them, and his most tyramicall proceeding with them, contrarie to all right and equitie. Protesting they neuer knew of any Soueraigntie hee had ouer them, but that they were a free Kingdome of themselves; and so at first hee dealt with them, vpon the death of their last King Alexander, both in the treaty of the marriage for his sonne Edward, with Margaret the heire of Scotland: and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein he sought by their consents to be made Arbitror, as he was. Howsoeuer afterward they were constrained to giue way to his will; yet, what they euer yeelded vnto was by reason they were otherwise unable to resist, &c. Vpon this remonstrance of the Scots, the Pope writes his powerfull letters to

to

to the King of England, to forbear any further proceeding against them; Claiming withall, the Soueraigntie of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answeres the Popes Letters at large. *Alledging from all Antiquitie, how the direct and superiour Dominion of Scotland, had euer appertained to this Crowne, euen from Brute to his owne time:* And with all the whole Nobilitie write to the Pope, auowing the same right. And absolutely conclude that the King their Lord should in no sort vndergoe his Holinesse indgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that businesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the preiudice of the Crowne, the Royall Dignitie, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of England; which by their oath and dutie they were bound to obserue, and would defend with their liues. Neither would they permit, nor could, any such vn-usuall, vn-lawfull, and detrimentall proceeding. Nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therefore besought his Holinesse to intermeddle no more in this matter. These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where, then was held the Parliament *Anno Domini 1301.*

vid. Apud.

The Pope vpon this answer, or rather hauing his hands full of other businesse, stirres no more in this. The King of France whom he had excommunicated, and giuen away his Kingdome to the Emperour *Albert of Austring*, shortly after so wrought, as his Spirituality was surprized at *Anagne* a Citie of *Abruzzo*, whither he was rettyred from the troubles of Rome; and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colosse*, a Banditto of Rome, and *Nogoret*, an *Albigioye* (whom he had both persecuted) as in extreame rage, and anguish within few daies after he ends his turbulent life.

1305.
Anno.
Reg. 32

And the King of England (hauing beene supplied, with a Fifteenth vpon Confirmation of the Charters againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) hee makes his Fourth expedition into Scotland, and as it were the Fourth Conquest thereof, hauing had Foure times Homage and Fealtie sworne vnto him. Which might seeme sufficient to confirme his Soueraigntie, whereof now he rests secure, and home returnes in triumphant manner: Remoues his Exchequer from *Yorke*: Feasts his Nobilitie at *Lincolne* with all Magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemne thanks to God and Saint *Edward* for victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after, *William Wallace* (that renowned Guardian of Scotland, betrayed by his Companion) is sent vp prisoner to *London*: adiudged according to the Lawes of England, to be drawn, hangd, and quartered, for his treasons committed against the King (whom at his Arraignment he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting neuer to haue sworne Fealty vnto him.

The case of
Sir Nicholas
Segraue.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne in a strange Countie, and remains amongst the best examples of Fortitude & Pietie in that kinde. And now King *Edward*, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his businesse: an vniuersall Lord at home: strong in Alliance, and Peace abroad; begins to looke more seuerely to the gouernement of this Kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders, which the Licence of Warre, and Trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes he would haue equall to his will) is the case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accused of treason by Sir *John Cromwell*, offers to iustifie himselfe by Duell, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present Warre then in hand. Whereupon *Segraue* without licence and contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaues the Kings Campe, and goes ouer Sea to fight with his enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not only contemned him, but as much as in him lay exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would haue Iustice to proceed against him. Three daies the Iudges consulted of the matter and in the end adiudged *Segraue* guiltie of death, and all his moueables and immouables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatnesse of his blood, they added. Hee went not out of England in contempt of the King, but only to bee reuenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy vnto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replied, haue you beene all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my power

power to conferre grace, and on whom it will to haue mercy, but not the more for your sakes then for a dogge. Who hath euer submitted himselfe to my grace and had repulse, but let this your iudgement bee recorded and for euer held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the Kingdome. Thirty of his Peeres girt with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods to bring him forth whensoever hee should bee called; the King restored him to his estate.

Mat. West.

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new writ of inquisition, called *Trailbisson*. For Intruders on other mens lands, who to oppress the right owner would make ouer their land to great men: For *Batterers* hyred to beate men: For *Breakers* of the Peace: For *Ranishers*, *Incendiaries*, *Murtherers*, *Fighters*, *False Assisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent forth to examine the behauiour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and payde dearly for it. Informers here, as fruitful Agents for the *Fiske* (and neuer more employed then in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for treasure aboue ground, this King made some profit of certaine siluer mynes in *Deuonshire*, as is to bee seene in *Hollinghead*, but it seeme the charge amounting to more then the benefit, they afterwards came discontinued.

The inquisition of *Trailbisson*.

The King likewise now beginnes to shew his repentment, of the stubborne behauiour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies *Roger Bigod* Earle-Marshall, as to recouer his fauour, the E. made him the heire of his lands (though hee had a brother liuing) reseruing to himselfe a Thousand pounds pension *p^r annuam* during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accused to haue disturbed his Peace in his absence) hee sends ouer to *Pope Clement* the Fifth (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruist with a double power, This *Pope* was Natiue of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his fauour; which to entertayne and increase hee sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of cleane gold: which great grieffe so wrought with the *Pope*, as hee let loose this *Lyon*, vntyed the King from the covenants made with his subiects concerning their Charters confirmed vnto them by his three last Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his oath: an Act of little Piety in the *Pope*, and of as little conscience in the King, who (as if hee should now haue no more neede of his subiects) discovered with what sincerity hee graunted what hee did.

1306.
Anno.
Reg. 33

But sodainely hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error and reforme it, finding the loue of his people lawfully ordered to be that which gaue him al his power, and means he had, & to know how their subsistances were intermutuall. The news of a new King made, and crowned in *Scotland* was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carricke*, sonne to that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, hauing beene so long without any to guide them, any intire Councell, scattered in power, disunited in minde, neuer at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as wel as their enemies to haue led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly, that which they did in this distraction, shewes how much more they would haue done otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but he effected it: had the Crowne; and hands ready to helpe him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report anything of it. Although *John Comyn* his Cosen german being a Titeler himselfe, a man of great loue and Alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to haue bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had liued, and were his Pensioners. But *Bruce* (as

Bruce murders John Cumyn in the Church.

K. Edward sends and prepares for Scotland.

The Peince gives the honor of knight-hood to 300 Gentlemen.

1307
Anno.
Reg. 34

A great execution made of the Scots.

great undertakers are euer awake, and ready at all houres) preuents him by speede: and either to be auenged on him for his falshood, or rid of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfraies*, sets vpon and murders him in the Church.

Which foundation laid on blood (the Place, the Person, and the manner making it more odious) much stayned his beginning, and effected not that security for which hee did it, but rayled a mighty party in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquainted heerewith, as hee could not bee before hand with him, yet would hee not bee long behind to ouertake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to releue his Wardens of *Scotland*, who vpon his Reuolt were all rettyred to *Berwicke*, whilst himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and Nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whosoeuer ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for seruice, should repaire to *Westminster* at the *Fest of Pentecost*, to receiue the order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe.

Three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the appointed day, and receiue Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with gold or siluer, according to euery mans estate: For which traine (the Kings house being too little, by reason a great part thereof was burnt vpon his comming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple trees cut downe at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselues and keepe their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, as an ornament of that honour; and withall gaue him the Duchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his *Vigile* with his trayne at *Westminster*, and the next day girds these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in that manner as himselfe receiued it. At which ceremony the presse was so great, as the Prince was faine to stand vpon the high Altar (a place for a more diuine honour) to performe this: Which beeing solemnized, with all the State and Magnificence could be deuised, the King before them all makes his vow, that aliuie, or dead, he would reuenge the death of *Cumyn* vpon *Bruce*, and the periured *Scots*: Adiuring his sonne, and all the Nobles about him vpon their *Faith*, that if he dyed in this Iourney, they should carry his corps with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to bee interred, till they had vanquished the *Usurper*, and absolutely subdued the Countrey. A desire more Martiall then Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the world, as hee would not make an end when he had done with it, but designs his trauaile beyond his life.

The Prince, and all his Nobles promise vpon their faith to imploy their vtmost power to performe his Vow, and so vpon grant of the *Thirtieth peny of the Clergy* and the *Laitie*, and the *twentieth* of all Marchants, hee sets foorth with a potent Army presently vpon *Whitsonide* and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, Anno, Reg. 34. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power sent before, and the ayde of the *Scottish* party (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, and egar to reuenge his death) had, before the King arriued in *Scotland*, defeated in a battell neere *S. Johns* towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person: Who escaping in disguise recovered an obscure shelter, and was referred for more, and greater battailes: His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander a Priest*, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwicke*; so that *K. Edward* at his comming, had not so much to doe as he expected. But yet he passed ouer the Countrey, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to be made for all who had beene ayding to the murder of *Cumyn*, and the aduancement of *Bruce*. Many, and great Personages are found out (beeing impossible amongst a broken people for any to remaine vndiscovered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the rest. The age of the King of *England*, his Cholar, Wrath, and desire of reuenge made him vow inexorable, and to spare none of what degree soeuer they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall blood, and allyed vnto him) was sent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gal-

lowes

lowes then any of the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce* taken by the Lord *Rosse* is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was aiding at the Coronation of *Bruce* is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out vpon the wals of *Berwicke*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemy, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, then any way quailed it: *desperation* beeing of a sharper edge, then *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted priuily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who neuer forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, loue, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as he was aliue they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours: which his enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as neuer to rise againe) found afterwards to their cost. For this man, from being thus laide on the ground, within few yeares after, gets vp to giue the greatest ouerthrow to the greatest Army, that euer the *English* brought into the Field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was giuen.

All this Sommer the King spends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carleil*, to bee ready the next spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resolute hee is not to depart, till hee had set such an end to this worke, as it should neede no more. And heere hee holds his last Parliament, wherein the State mindefull of the *Popes* late action, gotte many Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who beeing but poore, sought to gette where it was to bee had. Wringing from the elect Archbishop of *Torke* in one yeare Nine thousand five hundred Markes: and besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to bee made Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, gaue him and his Cardinals mighty summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is said to haue had in purchases, and inheritances, 5000. Markes per annum, besides what belonged to his Myter: which shewed the *Pope* the riches of this Kingdome, and moued him to require the fruits of one yeares reuenue, of euery Benefice that should fall void in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of *Abbayes*, *Priories*, and *Monasteries*: which though it were denyed him, yet something hee had; the King and hee diuiding it betwixt them. The *Pope* graunted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares: and the King yeelded that the *Pope* should haue the first fruits of those Churches. And the better to effect this businesse, the *Pope* makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall, a *Latere* to call vpon the King for consummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward*, and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got something, but not so much as he expected.

A Parliament
at Carleil.

The king and
Pope deuide
the benefit of
the Cleargy.

Whilest they were thus busie at *Carleil*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, suddainely assailes the Earle of *Pembrooke* at vnwares, and gaue him a great defeat; and within three daies after chases the Earle of *Glocester* into the Castle of *Ayr*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driuen againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as he was (in what estate soeuer he was) there would be no end of this warre.

K. Bruce reco-
uers new
forces.

Which caused King *Edward* to send out his first commandement, that whosoever ought him seruice should presently, vpon the Midsommer after, attend him at *Carleil*. And withall he sends the Prince to *London*, about the businesse of his Marriage. In *July*, although hee found himselfe not well, hee enters *Scotland* with a fresh Army, which he ledde not farre; for falling into a *Dysentery*, hee dies at *Borough* vpon the sands, as if to shew on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world; hauing Raigned thirty foure yeares, seauen moneths, Aged sixty eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherein the fire held out euen to the very last: borne and bred for action and military affaires, which hee mannaged with great iudgement: euer wary, and prouident for his owne businesse: watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatnesse of *England*, then the quiet thereof. And this wee may

K. Ed. enters
Scotland and
dies there.

1340
Anno.
Reg. 35

His Issue.

justly say of him, that neuer King before, or since shed so much Christian blood within this Isle of Brittain, as this Christian warrior did in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

He had issue by his first wife Queene *Elienor* foure sonnes, whereof onely *Edward* suruiued him, and nine daughters, *Elienor* marryed first to *John* Earle of *Bar.* *Joan* to *Gilbert Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*; *Margaret* to *John* Duke of *Brabant.* *Mary* liued a Nun in the Monastery of *Amsbery*, *Elizabeth* marryed first to *John* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, the rest died young. Hee had by his second wife two sonnes *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton* which was Marshall and Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of Edward the first.

The life and raigne of Edward the second.

Reg. I.

Anno.

1307.



Edward of *Carnaruan*, remooued more then one degree from the father in height of Spirit, and neerer the Grandfather in flexibility, and easinesse of Nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Raigne in July 1307. in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which shewes vs what confusion and mischief attendes rior, disorder, Neglect of the State, and aduancing vnworthy, or ill-disposed Minions to the preiudice of others, the griefe of his people, and the diminution of the Royall Maiesty. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sickness of his priuate Fatours, yet those often Relapses of his shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole state of his mind, not to be cured.

K. Ed. the first,
imprisoned
his son, and
exiled *Pierce*
Gaueston.
Anno. Reg. 33.

Neuer was Prince receiued with greater loue, and opinion of all, or euer any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discouered a head-strong wilfulness that was vnconcellable: Whereof the entertaining againe his olde Companion *Pierce Gaueston* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to haue corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which hee both imprisoned his sonne, an exiled *Gaueston*. Besides this prouident King (as if fore-seeing the mischief might insue) at his death charged his sonne (vpon his blessing) neuer to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gaueston* againe about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his Will obserued therein: which notwithstanding, hee brake before his fathers funerals were performed; and not onely entertaines, but inuests *Gaueston* in the Earldome of *Cornwall*, and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the demaines of the Crowne, and makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to bee reuenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his expences, and complained of him for his ryot) he caused him to be arrested, committed to prison, and seises vpon all his goods, which he gaue to *Gaueston*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne: remooues most of his fathers Officers: and all without the aduice, or consent of his Councell, which gaue them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Pierce Gaueston
recalled and
preferred by
the king.

A Parliament
at *Northampton*
held before the
Coronation.
The marriage
of K. Ed. solem-
nized at
Bologne.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people held them base, should bee current; and a Fifteenth of the Cleargy, a twentieth of the Temporality is there granted. After the Funerals performed at *Westminster*, hee passes ouer to *Bologne*, where his Nuptials with *Isabel*, daughter to *Philip le Bel*, are sumptuously solemnized, at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Nauarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gaueston* is sayde to haue exceeded them all in brauery, and daintines of attire, wherewith afterward hee infected the Court of *England*. A mischief the most contagious to breede Consumption in a State, that can be introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe ouer all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it.

And

And had hee done no other hurt to the Kingdome then this, it had beene enough to haue made him (as he was) odious thereunto. But besides, hee afterwards filled the Court with *Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players*, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolue the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby hee so possesse him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day, and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnes, ryot, and disorder: neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles: who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Westminster, Anno, Reg. 2.*) require him that Gaueston might be remooued from out the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time. Whereupon the King to auoide so great a disgrace, promises on his faith, to yeeld to what they desired in the next Parliament; and the solemnity with much festination, and little reuerence is performed. Wherein Gaueston for carrying Saint Edwards Crowne before the King, aggrauates the hatred of the Cleargy, and Nobility against him.

Gaueston corrupts the king

The Lords displeased with Gauest.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout England are at once arrested, and committed to prison. They were an order of Knights instituted by *Baldwin* the fourth King of *Ierusalem* about 200. yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that City, and the safe conuaying of all such as traauiled thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdome of *Christendome* and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably, vitious. So that all the Kings of *Christendome* at one instant (combining together) caused them to bee apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The king of *France* began, hauing a purpose to make one of his sons King of *Ierusalem*, and possesse him of their reuenues. Their accusation followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame, then prooffe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as appears by the condemnatory Bull of Pope *Clement* the third: wherein he hath this clause, *Quamquam de iure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus.* Their estates are after giuen to the *Hospitaliers*.

The knights Templars arrested and committed to prison. Their dissolution.

The Lords prosecute Gaueston.

These busineses passed ouer, the Lords prosecute their purpose against Gaueston, whose insolency, and presumption vpon the Kings fauour; made him so farre to forget himselfe, as hee scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him. Tearing *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* the Stage player: *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrook*, *Ioseph* the Jew: and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the blacke dogge of *Arden*: Which scoffes, leauing behinde them the sting of reuenge (especially where they touch) drew such a party vpon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly humbly besought the King to aduise, and treat with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the auoiding of eminent mischiefe, likely to insue through neglect of the gouernment; and so farre vrges the matter, as the King consents thereunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his oath to ratifie whatsoeuer they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choice men both of the Cleargy, Nobility, and Commons, to compose those Atticles. Which done, the Archbillion of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles, which are there publicly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme in the presence of the King. Amongst which the obseruation and execution of *Magna Charta* is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should be banished the Court, and Kingdome, and all ill Councillors remooued. That the busines of the State should be treated on by the Councell of the Cleargy, and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or go any where out of the Kingdome, without the common councell of the same.

1310.
Anno.
Reg. 3.

A Parliament
The king takes his oath to ratifie whatsoeuer Articles the Lords would conclude in Parliament.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to auoide further trouble he yeeld vnto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is he sent into *Ireland*, where hee liued a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Country. The King not

Gaueston banished into Ireland.

Gaueston recalled.

enduring to be without his company, neuer ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe : which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as he thought) to stand the faster on his feete, hee marryes him to his Neece (the daughter of *Ioan de Acres*) syster to *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a man beloued and highly esteemed of all the Nobility: for whose sake he hoped *Gaueston* should find the more fauour amongst them, but all this could not shelter him. Either his behauiour, or their malice was such as they could not endure to haue him about the King, who by making him so great, lessened him, and the more he was enriched, the worse was his estate; The subiects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their substance that was so waisted. For it is reported, the King gaue him the Jewels of the Crowne, which he sold to Marchant strangers and conuayed much treasure out of the Kingdome, wherby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof shee complains to the King of *France* her father.

The Lords threaten the king.

These stinging put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *that vnlesse hee put from him Pierce Gaueston, and obserue the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a perjured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to bee terrified) yeeldes againe vpon this message to the banishment of his Minion: whose fortune beeing to haue a weake master, was driuen to these sodaine extremities, and disgracefull expulsiions, at their will who were his enuyers; and who now obtaine this Clause; *that if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome he should be condemned to death as an enemy of the State.* Ireland was now no more to protect him: *France* most vnsafe for him (wait being their laid to apprehend him) in *Fländers* he lurks a while, but in great danger: and finding no where any security, backe againe he aduentures vpon *England*, and into the Kings bosome (the sanctuary he thought would not bee violated) hee puts himselfe, and there is he received with as great ioy as euer man could bee. And to bee as farre out of the way and eye of enuy as might bee, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiuing into grace, but they presently combine and take armes, electing *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the sonne of *Edmond*, the second sonne of *Henry* the third: and was likewise Earle of *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, and *Lincolne*, a most powerfull and popular subiect, with whom ioynes *Humsfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Amyer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Arundel*, (With many other Barons. But *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* the Kings Nephew, for that he would neither offend him, nor bee wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warreine* remained a while doubtfull, and fauouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communalty, beseeching him to deliuer vp vnto them *Pierce Gaueston*, or else to send him away with his traine out of *England*. The King neglecting their petition they set forward in armes toward the North. The King and *Gaueston*, withdraw to *Newcastle*, and there beeing aduertised of the strength of the Lords, they take ship (leauing the Queene in much griefe behinde) and land at *Scarborough* Castle; wherinto the King puts *Gaueston* with the best forces he could prouide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards *Warwicke*shire.

Gaueston againe banished.

Gaueston returns.

The Lords take armes.

Gaueston taken and beheaded.

The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Warreine* sent by the Earle of *Lancaster* lay siege to the Castle. *Gaueston* is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreats thus much that he might be brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should doe with him what they pleased. The Earle of *Pembrooke* vndertakes vpon his honour he should, but as his seruants were conducting him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to his Castle of *Warwick*, where after some consultation among the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest solicitation for his life, they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This

This was the end of *Pierce Gausston*, who for that he was the first *Prinade* of this kinde euer noted in our Historie, and was aboute a King in his life, deserues to haue his *Character* among Princes beeing dead. Natiue hee was of *Gascoine*, and for the great seruice his father had done to this Crowne, intertained and bred vp by King *Edward* the first, in companie with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that inuested him into that high fauour of his. Hee was of a goodly personage, of an haughty and vndauntable spirit, braue and hardy at armes, as hee shewed himselfe in that Turneament which he held at *Wallingford*, wherein hee challenged the best of the Nobility, and is said to haue foiled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where hee was Lieutenant during the short time of his banishment, hee made a Iourney into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and subdued the Rebels there, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* country, repaired Castle *Keuin*, and after passed vp into *Munster* and *Thomond*, performing euery where great seruice with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to haue bene a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those hee loued not, or put on any disguise vpon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming vpon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the priuacie of a Kings fauour vsually begets in their Minions, whose vnderstanding and iudgement being dazled therewith, as is their sight who stand and looke downe from off high places neuer discern the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary fauour shewed to one though hee were the best of men, when it arises to an excessse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indangers the health of the whole, and especially if it light vpon vnworthinesse, or where is no desert, and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite then merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the second Ciuill Warre of *England*. For now hauing had their desire in this, and finding their owne power and the weakenesse of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatening the King that vnlesse hee presently performed the same, they would constrain him thereunto by strong hand. Thus will Libertie neuer cease till it growe licentious, and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assemble about *Dunstable* making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Glocester* labour to appease them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were sent by the *Pope* to reforme these disorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to Saint *Albans* and desire conference with the Lords, who receiue them very peaceably, but their letters which the *Pope* had written vnto them, they refused to receiue, saying they were men of the sword, and cared not for reading of letters: that there were many worthe and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsels they would vse, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any businesse that concerned the Kingdome. With which answer the Cardinals returne to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* so labour the businesse as the Lords were content to yeeld vp to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gausston* at *Newcastle*, so that the King would grant their petitions. And thereupon *Iohn Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint *Albans* to receiue those things at their hands.

About this time *Queene Isabel* is deliuered of a son at *Windsor* whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would haue had christened by the name of her father *Philip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here

The description of *Pierce Gausston*.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The peremptory proceeding of the Lords.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Glocester* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

Their submission.

1313.
Anno.
Reg. 5.

Queen *Isabel* deliuered of a sonne.

here the King keeps his Christmas, feasts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is said (or rather suspected) to bee euill counsell'd by them against his Nobles, betweene whom there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serues to make it worse, *Suspicion* causing all things to be taken in ill part.

A Parliament.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murdering *Pierce Gaueston*, &c. Whereunto with one accord they answer: how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his loue and fauour, hauing taken armes not for any contempt of his Royall person, but to destroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was most highly disparaged, his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissention betweene him and his subiects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and trauaile they could neuer haue had an end. Besides they tell him plainly, they would now no longer attend vaine promises nor be deluded with delais, as they had hitherto been concerning their required Articles. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Glocester* seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, at last length so farre preuailed with them; as to appease the Kings wrath they brought them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themselves to the King, and to craue pardon for what they had done, which they obtained, and the King receiues them into grace, as his loyall subiects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaueston*. And for this, the State vpon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to bee one of the Kings Councill; who being a man much enuid by such as posselt the King, shortly after dies, not without suspicion of poyson.

The Lords
are pardoned.
A fifteenth
granted.

1314.
Anno.

Reg. 6.

King Bruce
grows strong
in Scotland.
King Edward
goes with a
mighty Ar-
mie into Scot-
land.

Whilst the State of *England* stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weak Head, that of *Scotland* grew strong by the prouidence of a vigilant King, who had not only ouercome the *Scottish* faction, and recovered the most of his owne Countrey, but also made spoiles on this, wasting all *Northumberland* in such sort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people and the great dishonour of the kingdome, is drawne to take armes for redresse thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greatest Armie that euer yet went thither, consisting as the *Scottish* writers report of 100. thousand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gascoines*, *Welsh*, and *Irish*, who in imagination had deuoured the Countrey before they came thither, and thought not of Battailles, but of deuiding the prey. Besides the King had with him most of the Nobilitie, and especiall men of *England*, except *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warrein* and *Arundell*, who refused to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foresaid Articles.

The Castle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to bee releued, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Philip Moubray* a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the same for many moneths. Neere to this place vpon the Riuer *Bannocke* is incountred this great Armie of *England* of *Bruce*, with 30. thousand *Scots*, a small number say their writers, in respect of their enemies: but as men hardened with daily vse of warre and domestical euils, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoever was deare vnto them. The aduantage of the ground was theirs, hauing behinde vnaccessable Rocks to defend them, before a Moorish vncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and couered them ouer with hurdles, so that the footmen might passe ouer safely without impediment, but it so confounded the Horse, as it gaue the *Scots* the day, and the greatest ouerthrow to *England* that euer it receiued. There perished in this Battaille (called of *Bannocks Bourough*) *Gilbert* the last *Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a maine Arch of the State of *England*, and *Robert* Lord *Cliford* the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Marshall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Maule*, and 700. Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of fort: of common souldiers, theirs say fiftie thousand, oursten: taken pri-
soners

The battell of
Bannocks Bo-
rough.

The defeat of
the *English*.

sonnes *Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, Ralph de Mortelmere* (who married *Joan de Acres, Countesse Dowager of Gloucester*) with many others: the King and those who were preferred escaped by flight.

This defeat put *Scotland* both into *Armes and Wealth*, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this kingdome for many yeeres as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great reuenge. King *Edward* vpon his comming backe to *Torke* shewed a great desire to repaire this dishonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sit downe by their losse. The poore Borderers haue the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100. of them would flie from three *Scots* faith *Walsingham*. To such a sodaine faintnesse are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which should giue them spirit, are ill affected.

This distaster (as mischiefe neuer comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that euer before had beene knowne. A Parliament is called at *London* vpon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of victuals, which sodainely grew to bee excessiue. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sold for fixteene shillings, fatted with corne for twentie shillings, the best Cow for twelue shillings, a fatte Hogge of two yeeres old three shillings foure pence, a fatte Sheepe thorne fourteen pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fatte Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fatte Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, foure Pigeons a penny, whosoever sold aboute should forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes then to haue beene no Calues, Lambes, Goslings, Chickins, yong Pigges, to be sold, those dainties were not yet in vse.

A Parliament
at *London*.

1315.

Anno.

Reg. 8.

Rates for vi-
tuals.

After these rates imposed, all kinde of victualls grew more scarce then before, and such a Murre followed of all kinde of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruits of the earth, by the excessiue raines and vnsasonable weather, as prouision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (such a iust punishment had Excess: and Ryot inflicted thereon in those daies) in so much as men put away their seruants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, scorning to begge, fell to Robberie and spoyle, which addes more miserie to the kingdome. Three yeeres this affliction held, and was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sicknesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they receiued, as the liuing scarce sufficed to burie the dead.

A Death
which lasted
3. yeeres.

1317.

Anno.

Reg. 10

Notwithstanding could all this extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiefe or other brake out, to hold in and increase the same. The wife of *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* is taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard Saint-Martin*, a deformed Dwarf (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle *Warrein*: claiming her for his wife, and auowing how hee had layne with her before she was married to the Earle, which the Lady herselfe to her perpetuall ignomy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily auerred. This base creature claimes by her the Earle do nes of *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, whereunto shee was heire; Which with out being supported by great Abbettors, hee would neuer haue presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which beeing in so tender & reserved a busines as marriage, added much to his other violations of order: and gaue occasion and hardinesse to inferiour persons to reprocue his courtes as may bee noted by this passage. Being at the celebration of the feast of Pentecost at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-backe, and ryding about the Table deliuiers him a letter, wherein was signified the great neglect hee had of such as had done him, and his father noble seruices, taxing him for aduancing men of vnworthie parts, &c. which letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselves, alleadging, it not to be the fashion of the Kings house in times of festiualls to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make sport. Search beeing made for this woman, shee is found

The wife of
the Earle of
Lancaster taken out of his
house at
Canford.

The king ad-
uertised of
his errors.

The miserable affliction of the Borders.

A reconciliation between the King and the Nobles. A new occasion of trouble.

1318.

Anno.

Reg. 11.

A Parliament at London.

found and examined who set her on, Shee confessed a Knight gaue her money to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and vpon examination boldly confessed, he did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and escapes without further adoe.

Thus while the North parts were not only infested with the *Scots*, but likewise by such of the *English* as vnder colour of vsing ayde for resistance, robbed and spoiled all where they came, to the miserable vndoing of the people. Besides *Robert Bruce* now absolute King of *Scots*, sends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the title of a King, which he held three yeeres. Thus all things went ill, as euermore it doth in dissolute and dissentious times wherein the publike is alway neglected.

But these mischiefs abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaster* is made by the mediation of two Cardinals vpon such conditions as were soone after vniustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by *Pomfret* with letters sealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murtherring the Earle, which Messenger is executed, his head set vpon the top of the Castle, and the letters referred to witnesse the intended plot. Which whether it were fained or not, the report thereof cast an aspersiō vpon the King, and wonne many to take part with the Earle. After this, vpon an inuasiō of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Yorke*, a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinals, and Cleargie of *England* yeelds, faithfully to obserue all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe against the *Scots*. *London* sets forth 200. *Canterbury* 40. *Saint-Albans* 10. and so of all Cities and Borowghes according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leauied. Which conming to *Yorke*; through routine, emulation, and other impediments was dissolued, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

1319.

Anno.

Reg. 12.

The *L. Hugh Spencer* the younger succeeded *Gaueston* in the office of Lord Chamberlaine.

The next yeere after vpon the rendering vp of *Berwicke* to the *Scots* by the treason of *Peter Spalding* who had the custodie thereof; the King of *England* raises an Armie and beleagers it: the *Scots* to diuert his forces, enter vpon *England* by other waies, and were like to haue surprised the person of the Queene lying neere *Yorke*. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to haue regained the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawne himselfe vpon discontent, hearing the King say, how hee would giue the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successor both of the Office, and priuate fauour of *Gaueston*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

Those of *Yorke* and the Countrie adiacent hauing receiued inestimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Armie of 10000. men, and incounter them at *Milton* on *Swayle*; but being not well ledde, nor experienced they receiued the defeat, with the losse of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and seeing all things to succede ill with him, concludes a truce with the *Scots* for two yeeres, and againe returnes with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke beginning vpon this occasion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, hauing in his licentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell vnto diuerse men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the land lay neere his, obtaines leaue of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two *Rogers Mortimers*, Vncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not vnderstanding it seemes any thing of the former bargain, Contract also for the same land, with the said Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger hearing of this sale, and the land adioyning to part of his, obtaines a more especiall leaue of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buyes it out of all their hands.

1321.

Anno.

Reg. 14.

Another occasion of reuolt.

The Earle of *Hereford* complains himselfe to the Earle of *Lancaster* (the refuge of all discontented men) who at *Sherborn* enters into a Confederation with diuers Barons there assembled, taking their oathes intermutually to liue and die together, in maintaining the right of the kingdome, and to procure the banishment of the

two *Spencers* father, and sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressors of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their will, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes: Which the State accounted a mischief most intollerable and grievous vnto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignitie and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced to the overthrow of Iustice and good order.

The Lords
oppose the
Spencers.

And take
Armes.

And vnder this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselves proceed not in that euen way of right as they made shew, but follow the fury of their willes, beeing once out and astray, they seize vpon, and make spoile of the lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinitie with them, killing their seruants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure. And comming armed thus to *S. Albons* they send to the King, residing then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester* (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realme to rid his court of those Traitors the *Spencers*, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Commualty of the Land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such as tooke part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished. The King returnes answer, That *Hugh Spencer* the father was beyond the Seas employed in his businesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinque-Portes according to his office, and that it was against Law and Custome, they should be banished without being heard. Moreouer that their request was void of Iustice and Reason, for that the said *Spencers* were euer ready to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L.L. could proue they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselves to the triall thereof. And besides swore he would neuer violate the oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardon to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdome, and violated the Royall Maiestie. Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approach to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs till they obtained leaue of the King to enter into the Citie: Where they peremptorily vrge their demands; which at length by mediation of the Queene and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condiscend vnto, and by his Edict published in *Westminster Hall*, by the Earle of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* banished the Kingdome. *Hugh* the father keepe beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in *England* expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (hauing thus obtained their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such securitie, as they gaue ouer the prouision for their owne defence.

The king ex-
cuses the *Spen-
cers*.
Denies the
Lords their
demands.

The Lords
come armed
to *London*.
The King
yeelds vnto
them.
The Earle of
Hereford pub-
lishes the
kings Edict in
Westminster
Hall.
The occasion
of the *Queens*
displeasure
with the
Lords.
Shee is deni-
ed lodging in
the Castle of
Leeds.
The King
takes the Cas-
tle of *Leeds*.
Growes
strong.

Shortly after, there fell out an vnexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had euer beene the nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her progresse towards *Canterbury* was disposed to lodge in the Castle of *Leeds*, appertaining to the Lord *Badlesmere* (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her and her traine, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queene or any else should enter there, without letters from their Lord. The Queene her selfe goes to the Castle, and receiues the like answer, whereupon she is driuen to take such lodging other where as could be provided. Of which indignitie she complains to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, *Thomas Culpeper*, sends the wife and children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the Tower, and seizes vpon all his goods and treasure. And hauing this power about him, and warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queene, sodainely directs his course to *Cicester* where hee kept his Christmas, and there provides for an armie against the Barons, whereof many (seeing the Kings power increasing) left their associates and yeeld themselves to his mercy, amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to diners

diners

The Lords withdraw into the North parts, and are ouerthrowne.

The execution of the Earle of Lancaster, with diuers other Lords in diuers places.

The first of any Earle or Baron of England that euer was executed vpon Scaffold, or otherwise, since the time of William the first. The Kings ill successe in Scotland.

1323.

Anno
Reg. 16

The Earle of Carleil degraded and executed.

diuers prisoners. The Earles of Lancaster & Hereford seeing this sodaine change withdrew themselves and their companies from about Gloucester towards the North parts. The King followes them with his Army wherein were the Earles of Athol and Angus, and at Burton vpon Trent, where they had made head, discomfited their forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at Burrough Briggs are encountred by Sir Simon Ward Shrieve of Yorke, and Sir Andrew Harckley Constable of Carleil, who (after the Earle of Hereford was slaine in struing to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of Lancaster, with diuerse other Lords and brought them to Pomfret, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in iudgement with Edmond Earle of Kent his brother, the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle Warren, Hugh Spencer, lately created Earle of Winchester and others, Sentence of death is giuen against Thomas Earle of Lancaster, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a traytour. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the royall blood, and only beheaded he was the same day without the towne of Pomfret before his owne Cattle. And by the like iudgement were condemned the Lord Roger Clifford, the Lord Warren Lisle, the Lord William Tuchet, Thomas Maudit, Henry Bradburne, William Fitz-Williams, William Lord Cheyny, Thomas Lord Mowbray, Ioseline Lord Danyll, all which were executed at Yorke. Shortly after the Lord Henry Teyes is taken, drawne, hangd and quartered at London, the Lord Aldenham at Windsor, the Lords Badlesmere, and Ashburnham at Canterbury, the Lord Gifford at Gloucester; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terrour ouer the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are confiscated, and many new men aduanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that euer was shed in this manner in England, since William the first, which beeing such, and so much as it was, opened veines for more to follow, and procured a most hidious reuenge, which shortly after infused. Thus is the beame of power turned, and Regalitie (now in the heauier scale) weighes downe all.

And presently vpon this Master-worke, the King both to busie the minds of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilst the terrour thereof lasted, marches from Yorke with a mightie hoast (but small prouisions) into Scotland. Where, the Scots conuaying themselves and all succours out of his way, put that want vpon him, as confounded his great Armie without blowes, forcing him to returne with much dishonour. And hauing passed farre within his owne Countrie, they assayled him at vnawares, and had like to haue taken his person, as well as they did his treasure with the Earle of Richmond (with whom hauing miserably ranfackt all the Countrie ouer, euen to the walles of Yorke, they returne loaden with mightie spoyles safe into Scotland; and this was the successe of this vnfortunate King (not borne for triumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, hee began to haue a sence of the Execution of the Earle of Lancaster, which hee discouers vpon this occasion. Some about him making earnest sute to grant a pardon to one of the Earles followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, hee fallies into a great passion, exclayming against them as vniust and wicked Councillors, which would vrge him so to saue the life of a most notorious varlet, and would not speake one word for his neere kinsman the Earle of Lancaster: who said he, had he liued might haue bene vsfull to mee and the whole kingdome; but this fellow the longer hee liues the more mischief he will commit, and therefore by the soule of God, hee shall die the death hee hath deserued. Sir Andrew Harckley who was the man which tooke prisoner the Earle of Lancaster at Burrough Briggés, beeing aduanced for his seruice to the Earldome of Carleil, inioyed his honour but a while: for the next yeere after, either thrust out into discontent, by the Spencers enuying his high preferment, or combyning with the Scots, allured with the hope of a great March (as he was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hangd and quattered at London for treason, and remains amongst the examples of sodaine downefalles from high places, vnder an inconstant and ill gouerning Prince.

Occasion

Occasion drew on a Parliament to consult, amongst other important businesses concerning the Sommons lately sent to King Edward, from the new King of France Charles de Bel (who succeeded his brother Philip de Long) to come and doe his homage for Gascoigne, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King should not goe in person at that time but send some speciall men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

Besides in this Parliament, the King required a Subsidie both of the Cleargie and Laity, for the redemption of John Brittain Earle of Richmond, lately taken prisoner by the Scots. But it was denied and alleadged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of Hereford was arrested, and accused of high treason before the King and his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leaue of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose Suffragan hee was (and who hee saide was his direct Iudge next the Pope) or without the consent of the rest of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craued the Kings clemency in his behalfe; but finding him implacable they tooke away their fellow Bishop from the Barre, and deliuered him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, till some other time the King should appoint for his answer to what he was charged withall. Shortly after hee was againe taken and conuented as before, which the Cleargy vnderstanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, Yorke, and Dublin with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men vpon paine of excommunication to forbear to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquiry to bee made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning those obiections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

This act lost him the Clergy, and added power to the discontented party, which was now growne to bee all in generall, except the Spencers and their followers, who enriched with the spoyle of the Barons, gouerned all at their pleasure, selling the Kings fauours, and shutting him vp from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and lessened her household traine, which was the rock whereon they perished.

The proceeding of the King of France against the King of England for the omission of his homage, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there, were adiudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the French, whereupon Edmond Earle of Kent the Kings brother is sent into Gasconie but to little effect, the King of France was before hand, his power ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that, either the King of England must goe in person to appease this trouble, or send his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the Spencers held it vn safe both for him, and them, if hee should leaue his kingdome at home in so great, and generall discontent as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a small traine is sent ouer to accomodate the businessse, which she negotiates so well, as all quarrels should bee ended vpon condition the King of England would giue to his sonne Edward the Duchy of Aquitaine with the Earldome of Ponthieu, and send him ouer to doe homage for the same, which after many consultations the King is wrought to yeeld vnto.

The Prince is sent with the Bishop of Exeter and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his mother, who herein had her desire, and being wholly bent to reuenge (whereof none are saide to bee more eager then women) found there, besides her great party in England, those who nourished that humour in her amongst whom was chiefe Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, lately escaped out of the tower of London, a gallant young Gentleman whom shee especially

R

faoured.

1324.
Anno.
Reg. 17
A Parliament

The kingis
denyed a
Subsidie.
The Bishop
of Hereford
accused of
treason.

He refused to
answer.

The B taken
from the Bar.

The B. being
absent is con-
demned *ex
officio*.
The presump-
tion of the
Spencers.

The Earle of
Kent sent into
Gasconie.

The Queen is
sent to accom-
odate the
businessse of
France.

The Prince is
sent to do his
Homage for
the Duchy of
Aquitaine.

The Bishop
of *Exeter*
discovers the
queenes plots.
The queene
proclaimed
enemy to the
kingdome.

The queene
returnes with
forces.

1326
Anno.

Reg. 19

The king
demands ayde
of the citie of
London.

The king de-
parts towards
the West.
The queene
followes.
2. King. 24

The queenes
Proclamation

favoured. The Bishop of *Exeter* perceiving some plots to bee in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discovers to the King so much as hee observed of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queene and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of *France* to hasten their returne, which when hee saw was neglected and delayed, hee caused them openly to bee proclaimed enemies to the kingdome, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on severall coasts to oppose their landing.

The Queene to inflame her the more is informed of a plot laid to murder her, and the Prince: and eyther doubting how much the money of *England* might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little forwardnesse in her brother to ayde or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault* being then a Prince of great meanes, and likewise Earle of *Holland*, to whose daughter *Phillippa* she contracts her sonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to transport her into *England*. Arriving at *Harwich* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom she brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* brother to the Earle of *Heynault* with 2500. *Henowayes* and *Flemings*, shee was received with great ioy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who soone resorted vnto her, as men who had lost, to recover their fortunes.

The King, vpon notice of this sodaine and safe arrivall of the Queene, demands aide of the City of *London*, which returnes answer, *That th y would with all duty honour the King, Queene, and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traytors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them.* The King with his small Councell about him reposing no assurance in this answer (after Proclamation made that none, vpon paine of death, should ayde the Queene, and commandement given to destroy all her adherents, onely her owne person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whosoever brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* should haue 1000. pounds) hee leaues the City, committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *John Weston* with the gard of his yonger son *John* of *Eltham*, and his Neece the Countesse of *Glocester* (first wife to *Pierce Gaucstun*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady vnforgotten by the ouer great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the West, hoping to finde ayde in those parts as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queene aduertised of his course marched after him (growing dayly greater as she marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* preached before her and the whole assembly, and deliues the cause of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh*: and concludes most vndeinly, that an aking, and sicke head of a Kingdome, was of necessity to bee taken of, and not otherwise to be cured. A most execrable doctrine, and repugnant to the sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is euermore produced, to abuse mens *Credulity* and iustifie *Impiety* in whatsoeuer *Ambition* or *Malice* shall attempt: a sinne beyond all other that can bee committed vpon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noised two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of hers to be for the deliuering the kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be safe. And here proclamation is made, *that nothing should bee taken from any subiect without paying ready money*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoever did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, sixe pence the hand, twelue pence the head, and that whosoever brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head should haue 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Iustice, and an vnnaturall presumption made to seeme right by power and authority: An impotent woman led with passion, and abused by wicked counsell is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent some against the

the father; to vndertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who hauing other ends then hers, would worke beyond, though vnder her authority, what pleased themselves. And though the euent (as commonly it doth in such attempts) prooue worse then the intention of the vndertaker; yet howsoeuer, the infamy of all what was acted lyes foule and open vpon her Memory, and no Apologie extant any way to couer it, and therefore we must leaue the same as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour of the state of *England* to haue beene without her great dowre, then to haue had her example, the worst of a Queene it euer yet had. The miserable King hauing his reputation (the maine support of Maiestie) blowne vp with the hurlewinde of his pursuers, found few or no hands to ayde him: So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with what defence could be provided for the guarding thereof; he leaues to trust the Land, and commits himselfe to a more vnfaithfull Element, the Sea, with purpose eyther to hide himselfe a while in the Isle of *Lundie*, or to passe ouer into *Ireland*; but tost to and fro with contrary winds (after *Sir Thomas Blunt* his steward with others were thrunke from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan shire*; where, though he found not safety hee found loue and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neth*.

The king be-
takes him to
the Sea.

The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Percy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the *North*, met her; and thence to *Bristol*: assailes and winnes the Castle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Winchester*, without forme or tryall of Law: causing him to be drawne, and hanged, on the common gallows in his Coate armour, cutte vp before hee was dead, headed, and quartered. This done, shee passes to *Hereford*, and the King beeing not to bee found, Proclamation is made, that if hee would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as hee ought to doe, hee should come and receiue the gouernment thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But hee, eyther not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himselfe still concealed. Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) aduantage is taken to dispose of the gouernment, and the Prince who is now vnder their gard, is made Gardian of the Kingdome, hath *Fealty* sworne vnto him, and a new Chancellor, and Treasurer, are appointed.

Hugh Spencer
the father
hanged at
Bristol.

Long it was not ere the King came to be discouered as a person too great for any couer, and was by *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch* and *Ries ap Howell* taken and conuayed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer* with *Baldocke* the Chancellor, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are sent to the Queene to *Hereford*, *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Glocester*) is drawne, and hanged on a gallows fifty foote high (wherein hee was exalted aboue his father, otherwise had the like execution) and likewise in his Coate armor, whereon was written *Quid gloriaris in malitia. Psal. 52.* *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foote lower then he: But *Baldocke* in regard he was a Priest, had the fauour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewise a little before was the Earle of *Arundell* with two Barons, *John Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldener* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

The king ta-
ken prisoner.

To accompany these mischiefes of the Countrey, the Commons of *London* made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King to take their part, let out all prisoners, possesse them of the Tower, put to death the Constable thereof, *Sir John Wesson*, murder the Bishop of *Exeter* to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that beeing the Kings Treasurer hee caused the Iustices Itenerants to sit in *London* by whom they were grievously fyned, and thus all is let out to liberty and confusion.

A Parliament
at *London*
where the
Prince is ele-
cted king.

After a moneths stay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her sonne returning kept Christmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament beeing assembled agreed to depose the King, as vnfit to gouerne (objecting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest sonne *Edward*: which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the vniuersall consent of the people there present, and the

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Archbishop of Canterbury makes a sermon vpon this text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to inuoke the King of Kings for him they had there chosen.

The Queene, eyther out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience looking backe vpon what shee had done, takes this election grieuouly to heart, inso much as her sonne to recomfort her, swore hee would neuer accept of the Crowne without the consent of his father, whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of euery Shire with a certaine number of Burgeses of euey City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-Ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare vnto him election of his sonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and royall dignity, whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolved to proceede as it thought good. The King beeing first priuately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom hee especially hated (for hauing especially offended them) the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* was brought forth before the assembly; to whom as soone as his passion (wherewith hee was ouercharged, would giue him leaue) hee confessed, *how hee had bene misguided (the common excuse of a poore spirit) and done many things whercof now hee repented, which if hee were to gouerne againe, hee would become a new man, and was most sorrowfull to haue so much offended the State, as it should thus viterly reiect him, but yet gaue them thanks that they were so gracious vnto him, as to elect his eldest sonne for King.* Hauing spoken to this purpose, they proceede to the Ceremony of his resignation (which chiefly consisted in the surrender of his Crowne) for the forme whercof, beeing the first that euer was seene in *England*, they could follow no precedent but must make one, and *William Trussell* a Iudge put it into the stile of Lawe to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the same in this manner. *I William Trussell in the name of all men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurators, resigne to thee Edward the Homage that was made to thee sometime, and from this time forwards now following, I desie thee and priue thee of all my royall power, and I shall neuer be tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the last act and the first example of a deposed King, no lesse dishonorable to the State then to him. He was a Prince more weake then euill, and those exorbitances of his met with as great or greater in his people, who as we see, dealt ouer roughly and vnciuilly with him. Hee is reported by some to haue bene learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) to haue written verses when he was in prison: to haue founded *Oriall Colledge*, and *Saint Mary Hall* in *Oxford*.

The king is brought to resigne his Crowne.

The forme of his resignation.

His issue.

He had by his wife *Isabell* two sonnes, *Edward* borne at *Windfor*, who succeeded him, and *Iohn* surnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornewall*, *An. 1315*. and dyed in the flower of his youth in *Scotland*. And also two daughters, *Ioan*, married to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Elianor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

The end of Edward the second.

The life and raigne of Edward the third.

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Vpon the resignation of *Edward* the 2. *Edward* his son of the age of 14. yeeres, began his raigne the 20. of *January*, 1327. and sends forth Proclamations of his peace into all shires, in this form. *Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to N. N. our sherife of S. greeting. Whereas the lord Edward, late king of England our father by the common counsell and assent of the prelates, earles, barons, and other chief men, with the whole communitie of this realme, did voluntarily amoue himselfe from the gouernment thereof, willing and granting that we as his eldest son and heire should assume the same, &c. which proclamation made to palliat a wrong did but the more discouers it. Within 5. daies after he was crowned at *West*. by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: at which solemnity the Q. made shew of great sorrow & heauiness.*

ness, but beeing after pacified by the enlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke vp three parts of the Kings reuenues) shee began to bee of better cheere. Twelue especiall men are here appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeares to gouerne of himselfe: The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Torke*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford* and *Worcester*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earle Marshall, *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, *John* Earle *Warrein*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, *Oliuer* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Rose*; but the Queene and *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* vsurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themselves. And to busie the present and vphold this *Change*, and expedition instantly is vndertaken for *Scotland*, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queene brought ouer with her) are imployed vnder the conduct of the Lord *John Beaumont* brother to the Earle of *Haynaile*, and at *Torke* the whole Army were to meete, where the *English* (being not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some blood and was hardly appeased, an ill presage of that iourney.

The Queene hath her ioynture enlarged. Twelue especiall men chosen for the gouernment. An expedition into Scotland.

At *Stanhope* Parke the *English* Army encounter the *Scottish*, and though the *English* were thrice greater, and might presently haue vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was done; so that the young King borne for victories, was deprived the honour of his first action, which yet, beeing not conducted by his owne Spirit, was held more dishonourable to others then to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hammowayes* and Stipendiaries are sent home into their owne countries.

The Scots retire from Stanhope Parke, and nothing done

During this businesse the deposed King remains prisoner at *Killingworth*, with the allowance of 100. markes a moneth for his expences, deprived of all those comforts the world should yeeld him. His wife whom hee loued (though now the author of all his misery) sends vnto him letters and apparrell, but excuses her comming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where hee was, nor so straitly lookt vnto, as they desired to haue him, being in the custody of his Vnckle the Earle of *Lancaster*; And therefore they commit him to other guardians, and men of the most rough natures could be found, the Lord *Matreuers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence remooued him to the Castle of *Berckley* in *Glocestershire*, where long hee staid not, but was conueyed to *Corfe* Castle, and thence to other places vp and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the vncertainty of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides to disguise him the more, and that hee might not be easily knowne, they shaued his head and beard, which as a seruant of his Sir *Thomas de la More*, a Knight of *Glocestershire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney* who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilst the Barber shaued him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, *That yet in despite of them he would haue warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall shed abundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this sauage Tylor put vpon his annointed Soueraigne, as he re-conueyed him backe to *Berckley* Castle, where shortly after hee, and *Matreuers* caused him to be murdered in a most hideous manner by thrusting vp a hot Iron into his bowels thorow an hollow instrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how hee came by his death: For the body being after laid forth, and vewed by many substantiall Citizens of *Bristol* an *Glocester* (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe eyther of wound or poyson, so that their euidence confirmed the report that was giuen out, how he dyed of extreame griefe. This was the end of *Edward* the 2. within eight months after his deposing.

The miserable estate of the imprisoned king.

He is murdered at Barkley Castle.

The deed-doers *Matreuers* and *Gourney* though they had commision and great hopes giuen them to doe as they did, yet beeing by those who were ashamed to vow it, they durst not abide the triall, but as Fugitiues fled presently their Countrey: *Gourney* three yeares after was taken at *Merseilles*, and murdered on the sea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deed cost, the iudgement of God fell heauily, not onely vpon the great

contriuers

contriuers, but euen vpon the whole Kingdome : and what the issue of this present Prince, whose throne (though without his guilt) was thus set vp on his fathers blood, sustained in after times, the many imbrued Scaffolds, the diuers bloody fields, the infinite slaughters in the ciuill discord of their diuided families, which the consumed race of the most part of all this present Nobility will testifie. But now for the present, the authors of this change vse all meanes to increase and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilst the State in generall receiues no great satisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not answered in that manner as they were conceined. The Queene mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amisse in the gouernment is now attributed to them and their counsell : So that discontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

The Kings marriage with *Phillippa* of *Haynault* is solemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *Dauid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, sonne to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* sister to the King of *England*, which match by reason of the tender age of the Prince, being but seauen yeeres old, could promise little good. Besides by the secret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *James Douglass*, The King surrenders by his Charter his title of Soueraignty to the Kingdome of *Scotland*, restores diuers deedes, and instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous euidence called the Ragman Roole, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments amongst which was the Blacke Crosse of *Scotland*, &c. Moreover any Englishman is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, vlesse he dwelt there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30 thousand Marks. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late deposed King, is accused and condemned vpon his confession, for intending the restoring of his brother, and conferring with diuers great men concerning the same, but without any matter of fact. This miserable Earle stood on the scaffold from one till fise, and no executioner could be found to dispatch him, at length a silly wretch of the *Marshalsey* cut off his head.

These violences and vnpleasing courses in a new alteration, could not long holde without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is helde at *Nottingham* wherein all the power and glory of the Queen and *Mortimer* (being scarce of three yeares growth) were ouerthrowne; the Queene all hath her great Ioynture taken from her, and put to her pension of 1000. pounds per annum. *Mortimer* is accused to haue procured the late Kings death; to bee the authour of the Scots safe escaping from *Stanhope Parke*, corrupted with the gift of twenty thousand pounds: to haue procured the late marriage, & peace with *Scotl.* so dishonourable to the King and Kingdome: to haue consumed the Kings treasure besides all what was taken from the *Spencers*, to haue bene too familiar with the Queene, &c. And for these hainous offences is condemned of high treason, sent vp to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallows at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders. Such were the tragicall and bloody returns, those ambitious supplants of others, got by exchange of the times, which now, may seeme, made the world weary of such violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more Ability to gouerne of himselfe, wrought a greater respect of his seruice in those who were of power about him, seeing him to bee of a spirit likely to goe through with his worke, and therefore they vse their best aduice to put him into coursethat might be most honourable for him and the Kingdome. The stains which his youth had receiued by such as gouerned the same, are now discovered, and meanes deuised how to take them of. And withall, occasions fall out to put him into Action.

And first a new King of *France* lately crowned (vpon the death of *Charles de Bel* without issue Male) requires his homage according to the custome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *France* held of that Crowne: whereunto though King *Edward* was supposed to haue the better right, yet seeing *Philip de Valois* was now in possession of the same, and himselfe then yong, his owne Kingdome factious, turbulent

and

1328.

Anno.

Reg. 2.

A Parliament
at North.

A dishonora-
ble peace
made with
Scotl.

A Parliament
at Nottingham

Articles
against
Mortimer.

He is hanged
at Tyburne.

King Edward
is summoned
to do his ho-
mage to *Phi-
lip de Valois* K.
of *France*.

and vnsettled, he was not as yet otherwise then by Law (which seldome gets a Crowne) able to debate his title; and therefore is content to temporise, and goe ouer in person to performe this ceremony, which did much preiudice his after claime, laide an imputation vpon the iustnesse of his cause, hauing thereby acknowledged and made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betweene them stood thus: *Philip le Bell* father to *Isabell*, Mother to King *Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles* which all were successiue Kings of *France*, and died without any issue male to inherite the kingdome, and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest sonne had a daughter, whom *Endes* Earle of *Bologne* her vncl by the mother laboured to haue crowned Queene, yet for that it was adiudged contrary to the *Salic Law*, which debarred women from the succession, *Philip* the yonger brother of *Louys* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Philip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succede him by the force of the same law (which passed now as a case adiudged) without any controuersie. *Charles* dying leaues his wife yong with childe: difference arises about the Regencie of that kingdome, betweene King *Edward* of *England* the Nephew, and *Philip de Valois*, Cozen-german to the last King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer then hee, yet was the Regencie adiudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought forth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capable of the Crowne then King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was vncapable, as they alleadged.

The Queene at length deliuered of a daughter the processe is ended, and *Philip* receiued and crowned King of *France*, by their *Salic Law*, maintained to bee vniolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meanes of his preferment, and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after vpon Sommons giuen (as is afore said) goes ouer and meetes King *Philip* at *Amiens*; where, by the Councils of both Kings, two especiall points are debated, the one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King *Philip*, but denied by that of King *Edward*. The second point, for the lands in *Guiene*, which the last King *Charles* had detained as his, whereof the Councell of King *Edward* demanded restitution, as appertaining to that Duchy. The Composition for this last point was easie, in regard of the treatie of Peace made betweene the said King *Charles* and *Edward* the second, the last of May 1325. wherein their rights were saued by protestations, reciprocally, aduised and receiued in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the said King *Charles* by this *Edward* before hee was King, which protestations were agreed to bee followed and repeated in this, with Couenant that if King *Edward* would pursue his right in Parliament, hee should haue iustice done him accordingly for those things in controuersie. Now for the first point concerning the qualitie of his Homage, it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should be done and receiued according to the vsuall manner of former kings, with sufficient time granted to King *Edward* to inquire of the said qualitie, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereupon the sixt of Iune 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimson veluet gowne imbroydered with Leopards, with his Crowne on his head, his sword by his side, and golden spurres on his heeles, presents himselfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at *Amiens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his chaire of estate in a veluet gowne of violet colour, imbroydered with floures de lis of gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount *Melin* Chamberlaine of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his sword, and his spurres and to kneele downe, which hee did on a crimsone veluet cushion before King *Philip*, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage which were these: *You become Liegeman to the King my master here present as Duke of Guyene and Peere of France, and you promise to beare faith and loyalty vnto him. Say yea, and King Edward said, yea, and kisses the King of France (as the Lord of the Fee)*

The Title of King Edward to the crowne of France.

1331.
Anno.
Reg. 5.

Joan Tillot.
King Edward doth Homage to the French King.

The forme of the Homage.

in the mouth, the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of *Ponthieu*.

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, yong, active, hauty, and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom he did, bred that rancour in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome that Ceremoney had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually beene exacted by King *Philip*; whom their own Historians blame for standing so much vpon his Regalitie, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new gotten Throne then any other whatsoever: to whose passion considering the fiery heat of his youth, he should rather haue ministred *Oyle* then *Vineger*, and more hospitably entertained him in his Court, comming with that State and Magnificence, as he did, attended with the best of all the kingdome of *England* to shew what he was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errors of improuident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselves and their subiects, that euer suffer the worst and are sure to pay dearly for others faults.

King Edward returns out of France into Scotland, and comes out of France defeated his opposers and is crowned king of Scotland.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for reuenge, the King of *England* returns to settle his affaires at home, where *Scottish* busineses fall out to intertaine him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, as it must not hold, and to breake the same, followed an occasion begun vpon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of kingdomes (with the emulation and factions in great men, put *Edward Balliol* sonne to *John Balliol* (sometime King of *Scotland*) thirtie two yeeres after his fathers deposition, to attempt the recovery of that Crowne: and out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, hee comes by the solicitation of his friends into *England*, where hee was permitted vnderhand to get ayde, and had all such *Scots* and *English* who were of the faction against *Bruce* to take his part, and with them he sodainly assailes those who had the gouernment of that kingdome during the nonage of the yong King *David* (being at that time with the King of *France*) and ouercame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But his party being not so potent as they could maintaine and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, he was forced notwithstanding this great defeat, to retire him into *England* to get more ayde of King *Edward*; who now shewes himselfe in the action, ioynes with *Balliol* against his brother in law King *David*, goes in person with a strong Army to recouer *Berwicke*, which after three moneths siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was againe taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof at *Halidowne hill* vtterly defeated: where were slaine seuen Earles, 900. Knights and Baronets, foure hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our writers report, theirs, foureteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is *Balliol* returned to his miserable kingdome.

Berwicke recovered. The battell of *Halidowne hill*.

A memorable act in the oppugnation of *Berwicke*.

In this oppugnation of *Berwicke*, though my haste bee great, I must not so much trespass vertue as to ouerpasse one memorable particular, recorded by the *Scottish* writers, which is, how the Lord *Seton* seeing all reliefe failing, and the assaults violent, as hee could not long holde out, conditions with King *Edward*, if rescue came not at such a day to render him vp the towne: and for assurance deliues him two of his sonnes. Shortly after King *Edward*, hauing notice of the *Scottish* Army approaching with greater power and speed then hee expected, and likely to be there before the day, summons the Lord *Seton* to render the towne presently, otherwise he should see his two sonnes executed before his face, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the towne, the yong Gentlemen brought forth and vnder the hand of the Executioner; wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betweene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his wife the mother of those sonnes, a Lady more then a woman, comes vnto him, exhorts him to remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charitie to his Country, the dignitie of his noble Familie, that they had other children left though these were destroyed, and besides themselves were not so olde, but that they might haue more. How those, if they should bee preserued from death at this

this time might other wise shortly perish by some worse occasion: And what a staine he should lay on the name of Seton, and their posteritie for ever, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed unto him: whereby also he was not certaine whether he should preserve his children or no: for how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. And therefore besought him that he would not preserve an uncertaine and momentary benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy. And so recovering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the walles, into some other parts aside, that he might not be Spectator of the execution of his innocent children.

The next yeere after this defeat at Hallidown Hill, Edward Baliol King of Scots at Newcastle doth Homage to the King of England as his superiour Lord, and takes his oath of Fealty, Binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for ever with the inheritance of five Countreies next adjoining to the Borders. So large a part yeelds hee to forgoe, rather then to bee in danger to loose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which most part of the Nobles of Scotland conceived vpon this act of Alienation, and subiection of their Countrey. Insomuch as it gaue both Kings, continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite treasure. There was granted to the King of England for these warres a fifteenth of the Temporaltie, a twelfth of Cities and Borowghes, and a tenth of the Clergie, in a Parliament holden at London. And three yeeres together the King goes in person with armies into those parts, and neuer returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: in so much as it may moovevs to admire, how it could be possible that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had bene slaine in battaile within these fiftie yeeres past, and yet still to bee able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their owne quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt vpon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deseruing to haue had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to haue shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

The reason that mooued King Edward with such violence to prosecute the businesse of Scotland was out of a desire, so to settle the same, as he might be wholly for the designs he had vpon France, which chiefly hee intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of Robert de Artois, who being chased from thence by King Philip his brother in Law, comes ouer into England, and is heere entertained with great honour.

This Robert a Prince of the blood of France descended from Robert sonne to Lounys the eighth, brother to S Lounys, had long contention with Maud his Aunt Countesse of Burgogne about the Earldome of Artois; and presuming vpon his owne power, his alliance with King Philip who had married his sister, and the seruice he had done in aduancing him to the Crowne, counterfeits a Deede thereby to ouerthrow his Aunts right, which being afterward discovered, made it the more, and mooued the French King to giue iudgement on her side, so that the County of Artois was by arrest of Parliament, confirmed vpon Maud, which so offended Robert, as in his rage, hee openly said, *Hee would vnmake the King by the same power hee made him*: Which rash menace vttered before many witnesses so stung the French King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but sayling therein, causes him to bee proclaimed Traitor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his subiects whosoener, either without or within the Kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receiue him, comfort, counsell or ayde him, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods: and withall charges them by any means to seise vpon his person, and to send him prisoner vnto him. Whereupon this chased Prince finding no place on that side safe for him, ouer hee comes into England, is ioyfully entertained by King Edward, made of his Councell, invested in the Earldome of Richmond, and heere is he the Kindle-fire betweene these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted aboute an hundred yeeres after

1333.
Anno.
Reg. 7.

Edward Baliol doth Homage for the Kingdome of Scotland. A Parliament holden at London.

A remarkable consideration.

1336.
Anno.
Reg. 10

Robert de Artois discontented with the French King.

Isaac Tiller.

Robert de Artois comes into England.

Vid. Append.

King Edward
made Vicar
generall of
the Empire.

The making
of cloath in-
troduced in
this king-
dome.
The first
sumptuary
Law we finde
in our Histo-
ry.
King Edward
winnes Laques
de Artiuile.

Meanes vsed
for money.
Vid. Append.

1338.
Anno.

Reg. 12

A Subsidie of
Wooll.
King Edward
goes into
Flanders with
his wife and
children.

ter, and the smoake thereof much longer. First hee discouers to King Edward the secret of their Councils at France, and what meanes had beene vsed for the aduancement of King Philip, whose title he now disapprooues, and prefers that of King Edward, as more iust: and a declaration is published and sent to the Pope and all the Neighbour Princes shewing the vsurpation of Philip de Valois vpon that Crowne.

Now had King Edward euer since his returne from Amiens prepared to make good his party to oppose the French King, and by the assistance of his Father in law William Earle of Haynault, combined with the Dukes of Brabant and Geldres, the Earle of Iuliers, the Archbishop of Cologne, Valeran his brother, Iohn of Haynault, and other Princes of Germany. And besides, had of late obtained by great gifts of Louys de Bauier, the present Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby hee was to haue all those Princes confiners vpon France, who held of the same, to doe him seruice. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that he had stood for him against his competitor Fredericke of Austrich, with whom the French King tooke part; and besides he had married King Edwards wiues sister, which might be a moriue to procure him this honour. Then seekes he to gaine and draw in the Flemmings, whose Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which euer entertained a kinde of liberty among themselves, were easily wonne to take part with King Edward, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the wooll of this Kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at London, Anno Reg. 9. were prohibited to be transported vnwrought. *That clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priuiledges and Liberties allowed to such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabit.* Besides it was enacted, *That none should weare other then English Cloath, except the King, Queene and their Children, that no man should weare any facing of silkes or fures, but such as could dispend 100. pounds, per annum.* But those ordinances (more beneficiall to this Kingdome then these warres will be) were vpon this new entertained correspondence with the people of Flanders, soone after neglected: but yet the making of cloath continued, and many come out of Flanders to exercise that trade in England.

Now there was among the Flemmings one Laques de Arteville, Citizen of Gaunt, a Brewer as some say (but of more then Beere) a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetaine in their tumults, him King Edward gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assaile the French King vpon any occasion.

Hauing thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are deuised to raise monies at home to supply this busines. *The tenth peny of Townes and Borowghes, a fifteenth of others, & a tenth of the Clergie is granted in a Parliament at Northampton. All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy warre is taken out for the Kings vse in this. The next yeere after, all the goods of three orders of Monkes, Lombards, Cluniacs, and Cistercences are likewise seised into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidie as before, granted at Nottingham. Honours are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action.* Henry of Lancaster the yonger, is created Earle of Derby, William Mountacute Earle of Salisbury, Hugh Audeley Earle of Glocester, William Clinton Earle of Huntington, William Bohun Earle of Northampton, Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke: Prince Edward was likewise at this time created Earle of Chestor, and Duke of Cornewall. In Anno Reg. 12. at a Parliament at Northampton (as some write in the absence of the King) was granted by the Laytie, one halfe of their wooll, but of the Clergie was leuiet the whole, and they were caused to pay nine Markes for euery sacke of fine wooll. The next yeere after a fifteenth was likewise paid in wooll by the Communitie. And now for the better managing of his worke abroad (hauing well accommodated the Scottish affaires) hee goes ouer into Flanders, takes with him his Queene and children, lies at Anwerp, where, by perswasion of the Flemmings he tooke vpon him the Style, Title, and Armes of the King of France, whereby they held they might the better iustifie their partaking in his quarrell, and dispence with their oath formerly made to the French King, hauing besides bound themselves in 20. hundred thousand crownes neuer to beare Armes against the King of France, and thereupon the league was established

blished betweene them and King Edward. The French King was not behind in his preparations and confederacies, having to take his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of Rhene (who couenanted to serue him against King Edward and his adherents, with 300. horse for 56000. Florins) The Bishop of Metz, Albert and Otto Dukes of Auſtrich, Theodore Marquess of Monferat, Amé Earle of Geneva, besides many Princes of Eltate, and diuers great Captaines out of Germany, French-Country, Sauioy, Dauphine, Spaine and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World, are either in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene these two mightie Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple; and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of Sicile, a great Astrologer, who deuined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to France, to haue accorded them, which would not be.

The Preface of this warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this side King Edward sets vpon Cambray defended by the French. Philip on the other, seises on the Duchie of Guyen, and thither sends Conte d'Eu Constable of France with the Earles of Foix and Arminiag, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides he hath a great Naue at Sea which committed much spoile on the coast of England. King Edward enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierache, approaches neere to King Philip: Both Armies were lodged betweene Viron fosse and La Flamenguere, the day of the fight appointed vpon the Friday after, the Battailles on both sides made ready, the aduantage of number was on the French; But both Armies furnished with braue men of warre, and circumspect, depart without incounter: The French esteeming it no discretion to put the person, and state of their King to the hazard of Battell within his owne Kingdome: And the English consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assault them: and so they passed the day in Countenances, and nothing was done. Onely this accident fell out, which after gaue matter of sport: A Hare starting before the head of the French Army, a great shot was suddainely made, which they who were behind supposing to haue beene vpon the on-set of a Battell, disposed themselves to fight: some Esquires for their more encouragement, are according to the custome presently Knighted, who were euer after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The next morning earely both Kings dislodge, the French retires to Paris, the King of England into Brabant, where after he had strongly fastened his confederates, and disposed of his affaires, hee leaues the Queene and returns into England about Candlemasse, hauing beene in Brabant about a yeere, lands at the Towre about Midnight (and finding it vnguarded was much displeased) sends for the Maior of London, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with John S. Paul Michael Wath, Philip Thorp, Henry Stratford Clergie men (who it seemes were officers for his receipts) and Iohn Sconer Iustice of the Bench, all which, except the Chancellor were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner diuerse officers of Iustice and Accomptants vpon inquirie made of their vniust proceeding.

Then calls he a Parliament at London in Lent which granted vnto him for custome of euery sacke of Wooll, Forty shillings, for euery 300. Wooll-fells, Forty shillings for euery last of Leather, Forty shillings: and of other Merchandizes according to that rate, the same to indure from that Easter to the Whisontide Twelue-moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of Goods, of Forraim Merchants and other a fiftieth, of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaffe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lambe for two yeeres. Also another tenth of the Clergie. And for his present supply, hee hath Loanes of diuers wealthy persons, and the Citie of London, lent 20000. Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidie, the King (besides his Pardon to diuers kinds of offenders) remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Relieves, and scutage vnto the first time of his going into Flanders: Besides all Aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his raigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages both of his Fermars and others any way due in the time of his Progenitors, and his owne, till the tenth yeere of his raigne (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paid into his Exchequer) and here he likewise confirms the great Charter.

The French Kings partakers.

Meanes to appeale these two kings.

The French king seises on the Duchy of Guyen. King Edward enters into France.

Froissart.

Knights of the Hare.

1330.
Anno.
Reg. 14

A Parliament at London. Great Subsidies granted. Custome, at first but temporarie.

Pardons and Remission of ancient debts.

Retribution.

During

The Earles of
Salisbury and
Suffolke taken
prisoners in
France.

King Edward
vanquishes
the French
Kings great
Naue.

Jean Tiller.

King Edward
besieges Tour-
ney, and sends
his Challenge
to the French
King.

The French
kings answer
to the Chal-
lenge.

During King Edwards abode in England, William Montague Earle of Salisbury, and Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke, left in Flanders to oppose the proceeding of the French, hauing performed diuers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming ouermuch vpon their fortune, were in an incounter about Lisle, so ouerlaide by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris, to the great ioy of the French King: who now to impeach the King of Englands returne, had prepared a mightie Naue in the Hauen of Sluce, consisting of 200. Saile of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port, ready to incounter him vpon his landing: Whereof King Edward being aduertised, prouides great strength, with the like number of ships, and sets out to Sea vpon Midsummer Eue, is met the morrow after with a Naue likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley, and incounters his enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and aduantage of winde and Sunne, as hee vtterly defeited their whole Naue, tooke or suncke all their ships, slew 30. thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victorie (the greatest that euer before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yeeld. Most of the French, rather then to endure the Arrowes, and sharpeswords of the English, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the French Kings Iester, set on to giue him notice of this ouerthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the sad-daine) said, and oftentimes re-iterated the same, Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen. The King at length asked him Why: For that said he, They durst not leape out of their ships into the Sea, as our braue French-men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this ouerthrow: which the French attribute to Nicholas Buchet one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens that the Auarice of Commanders haue bene the occasion of great defeits.

But this losse much abated the power of the French King, who notwithstanding in these Martiall times was soone supplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mightie head against this victorious, powerfull and freshly furnished King of England; who suddainely sets downe before Tournay, with all his owne and his adherents forces. And from Chyn (a place neere-by where hee lodged) sends his Cartell the 17. of Iuly, to Philip de Valois, lodging at S. Andrew les Aire with his puissant armie. Declaring how he with the power of his owne Kingdome, and ayde of the Flemmings, was come to recouer his right in the Kingdome of France vniustly detained from him, contrarie to the Lawes of God and Man: and that seeing no other meanes would serue, hee was forced in this manner to haue recourse to his sword. Notwithstanding seeing the businesse was betweene them two, he offers for the auoiding of Christian blood, and deuastation of the Countrey, to trie the same by combate in close Campe, body to body, or each of them accompanied with 100. choyce persons: Which if the said Philip refused, then to strike battell within ten daies after, before the Citie of Tournay.

Philip de Valois returnes answer the last of Iuly in this manner, Philip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: Wee haue perused your letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certaine requests to the said Philip: and for that it appears those letters and requests were not written or made vnto vs, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise we understand how you, ledde by wilfulnesse, without all reason, haue entred our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small damage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the dutie of a Liegeman: hauing lately sworne homage vnto vs, acknowledging vs, as by right King of France, and haue promised that obedience which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-Lord, as is manifest by your letters Patents vnder your great Seale, which we haue with vs, and you likewise ought to haue the same with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdome, as we firmly hope in Christ (from whom we haue our power) to doe. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begun, our Iourney vnder taken for the East is hindered, no small number of Christians there murthered, the holy seruice neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you alledge you possesse the ayde of the Flemmings, wee are assuredly

assuredly perswaded, that they with the Communalty of their Country, will so beare themselves towards our Cosen their Earle and vs their superiour Lords, as they will not omit to obserue their honour and fidelity, whatsoever hath bene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne priuate, contrary to the common good.

The French write how King Philip with this Letter sent word to King Edward, how by his Cartell he aduentured nothing of his owne, but onely exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If he would hazard the kingdome of England, (though it were lesse) against the kingdome of France, the said King Philip would enter combate in close camp with him, on condition the Victor should enjoy both kingdomes. But that, they say, King Edward would not doe.

Three moneths the siege of Turney had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Country about) all the eyes of Christendome bent vpon this action, both kingdomes, deeply engaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull euent thereof, when Iane de Valois sister to Philip, widow of William late Duke of Haynault, and mother to Philippa wife to King Edward, a Princeesse of excellent vertue, came from Fontenelles where she had rendered her selfe a Nun vowed to God, to mediate a peace betweene these two enraged Kings, her brother and her sonne in law: and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift vp for blood, traouailing from one to the other (stubbornly bent to their intentions) and neuer left them (though often denied) till she had with great patience, and wife counsell qualified their boyling passions, in such sort as shee obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one year, and both these great Armies are dissolued. The French king returnes home, and so doth the King of England with his Queene: who had remained in those parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two sonnes, Lionell, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and John borne at Gant, who first was Earle of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaster.

A meditation for peace.

A Truce concluded.

Anno.

Reg. 5

John Strat-
Archbishop
of Canterbury
his letters to
king Edward.

But King Edwards condescending to this sudden truce, had indeed no other motiue then the want of his supplies of treasure, which came short to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were laide on his subiects. And whereas hee had vpon his last returne into England, in great displeasure, remooued his Chancellor, and imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers (most of them Cleargymen) and still held them in durance, John Stratford Archbishoppe of Canterbury, (on whom the King laid the blame of his wants) writes him a most bolde and peremptory Letter to this effect: first shewing him how it was for the safety of Kings and their kingdomes, to use graue and wise Counsailors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flourishing happinesse of such as tooke that course, and their infelicity who followed the contrary. Then wills him to remember how his father led by euill counsell vexed the kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the lawe of the Land, diuers of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what happened thereby vnto him. Also to call to minde, how himselfe at first, through euill counsell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people. But afterwards, by the great circumspection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as hee recovered them, and now possessed them in such sort, as they all both Cleargy and Lay, haue yeelded their helping hands, more to him then to any of his Progenitors, whereby he had gloriously triumphed ouer his enemies, the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as effect their owne profit more then his honour, or the welfare of his people, hee had caused Cleargie men and others to bee arrested, and held in prison by vndue proceeding, contrary to the lawes of England (which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to obserue) and against Magna Charta, which whosoever shall presume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope Innocent the fourth) Excommunicate. So that heereby hee incurred no small danger to his soule, and detriment to the State and honour. Then hee telleth him, how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sort as he should not bee able to prosecute his warre in hand, and thereby gine his enemies heart and occasion to rise against him,

to the hazard of his honour and the kingdome. And therefore aduises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell he could not gouerne his kingdome, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amisse. And whereas, said he, certaine neere about you by their adulation and soothing, falsly betray and deceiue you, we here denounce them Excommunicate, and beseech you as your spiritual Father, that you hold them so. Besides, he vrges him, that whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the City of Turney was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made, to whose hands, from the beginning of the warre, the Wools and Monies are committed to be bestowed, and by whose default the City of Turney was not subdued, but left in such manner as it was: and that as an equall and wise Lord he would chastise such as were culpable, and not condemne or misdeeme his subiects without sufficient tryall, &c. The letter bare date the 1. of Ianuary.

Then writes hee also to Robert Bonser Chancelor of England, shewing him what contribution the Cleargy had yeilded to the King by their free consents, and that none other were to bee exacted of them. Requiring him to doe nothing preiudiciall to the Lawe of Magna Charta; and that if any Writ, Commission, or Precept had gone out of the Chancery contrary therunto, or the priuiledges and liberties of the Church or Kingdome, he should within tenne dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as he saide the Chancelor was bound to doe) reneke and annul the same. This bare date the 28. of Ianuary.

Another letter he likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that whereas contrary to the priuiledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contained in Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de Warb, Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe, and Henry Stratford, were arrested, committed to prison, and there deteyned without being indited, or convicted of any notorious crime, and that whosoever were ayding or counselling to this proceeding had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his owne Dioces, and in all other of his suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliuer the saide prisoners, otherwise (hee plainly writes) that according to his Pastrall charge, he must proceede to the execution of the sentence. Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intention to include therein the King, Queene, or their children, so farre as they might by law be excused.

To this purpose he likewise sends to the Bishop of London and other his Suffragan Bishops, (whom after hauing complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but fixe vp in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those articles of Magna Charta: which are at large added to his letter, to the end (as he said) that euery man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Arch-bishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his letters written to the Bishop of London, wherein, after hauing declared how much hee had euer honoured and trusted the Archbishop, hee accuses him of manifest wrong, for that relying upon his counsaile, he was put at first upon this action against the French King, and by him assured he should not want treasure and meanes for the performance thereof, and that he needed not to care but onely to prouide men to execute the worke. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the said Archbishop and his Officials, those prouisions granted him by his subiects in Parliament, were in so slender proportion leuiued, & with such delayes sent ouer, as he was prest of necessity (to his great grieve and shame) to condescend to the late truce, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throwe himselfe into the gulph of the vsurers; in such sort, as hauing iust cause, he began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: some of whom upon apparant notice of their ill administration of Justice, their corruptions and oppression of his subiects, he removed from their places, and some of inferiour degree culpable of the same offences, hee committed to prison, and there detained them, to the end he might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, wherof none could so well informe him as the Archbishop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole administration of the kingdome. And therefore desirous

Quatenus de
inirepoterunt
excusari.

Vid. Append.

King Edward
accuses the
Archbishop
of false dealing.

sirous to conferre with him at London, he had of late sent an especiall messenger, his trusty servant Nicholas de Cantelupe, that he should repaire thither: which the Archbishop refused to doe, alledging how he stood in feare of some about the King, and therefore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent Ralph Stafford, the Steward of his house, with safe conduct under his great Seale for the Archbishops security. Notwithstanding he refused to come, returning word how he would haue no conference with the King but in open Parliament: which at that time (said the King) was not for especiall reasons conuenient to be called. Then aggravates he the vndutifull contempt of the Archbishop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: auowing that although by hereditary right, and the diuine grace he was aduanced to that sublimity of regall power, he held it alwayes to haue beene a detestable thing to abuse the greatnesse therof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, then to gouerne his subiects with mildnesse, clemency, and moderation of Iustice, that he might with peace enjoy their loue. And how notwithstanding the Archbishop had most iniuriously (by his letters published in diuerse parts) torne his innocency, and slandered the faithfull service of his Counsaillers and Officers, who executed his regall Iustice, exclayming how the people were oppressed, the Clergy confounded, the kingdome agrieved with taxations and all kinde of exactions. Which the King argues was to no other end, but to raise sedition amongst his people, and to withdrawe their loue and obedience from him. Lastly, to giue notice of the Archbishops corruption, he declares how, himselfe being vnder age, had through his counsell made so many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations, and excessiue gifts, as thereby his treasure was utterly exhausted, and his reuenues diminished, and how the Archbishop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due vnto him, applying to his proper use, or to persons ill-deseruing many commodities, and reuenues which should haue beene preserued for his necessary prouisions. And therefore concluded, vnlesse he desisted from this his rebellious obstinacy, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceede against him: inioyning them to publish all and singular these his malignities, and to cause others to do the like, for the manifestation of his own prouis and Princely intention, in relieuing his owne and his subiects wrongs. This letter was laid to haue beene penned by Adam Bishop of Winchester, and bare date the 12. of February, *An. Reg. 15.*

Thus the King and his Officers, whose proceedings must not receiue a checke, are cleared, and the imputation rests vpon the Archbishop, who is charged with great accounts, and pressed by such as lent the King mony, to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at London, being earnestly petitioned by the whole Assembly of the three Estates, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forrests might be duly obserued, and that whosoever of the Kings officers infringed the same should lose their place; that the high Officers of the kingdome, should as in former times bee elected by Parliament. The King stood stiffe vpon his owne election and prerogatiue, but yet yeelded, (in regard to haue his present turne serued, as himselfe after confessed) these Officers should receiue an oath in Parliament, to doe iustice vnto all men in their offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale; both for that, and many other grants of his to the subiects, which notwithstanding were for the most part presently after reuoked.

The truce agreed on before Turney for one yeare, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at Arras, which yeelded some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischief. Louys of Bauier (intituled Emperour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his sworne confederate, and reuokes the Vicarship of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the K. of England, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appears by his letters to King Edward, which are againe by him fully and discreetly answered.

But in stead of this remote and vnconstant confederate (whose power lay without the limits of France) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier meanes to offend, within the body of that kingdome. The inheritance of the Duchy of Brittain is in controuersie betweene Charles de Blois, Nephew to King Philip, and John de Monfort, vpon this title: Arthur Duke of Brittain had by Beatrix his first wife, two sonnes, John and Guy, by Yoland Countesse of Monfort his second wife

*Vid. Stat. 14.
Edward. 3.*

*The Articles
Vid. Append.*

*The Emperour
reuokes the
Vicariate, the
reason why.
Vid. Append.*

*The contro-
uerfie for the
Duchy of Bri-
taine.*

Monfort doth
homage for
the Duke of
Brittaine to
K. Edward.

Monfort taken
prisoners.
His wife pro-
secutes her
husbands
quarrell.

Forces sent
ouer into
Brittaine.

The death of
Robert de
Artois.

John de Monfort. John the eldest sonne of *Artur* hauing no issue, ordayned *Jane* his Neece, daughter to his brother *Guy* (who died before him) to succede him in the Duchy. This *Jane*, *Charles de Blois* marries on condition his issue by her should inherite the same, wherein after consummation of the Marriage hee is inuested, and had homage done vnto him during the life of *John* their Vncle. But after his death, *John de Monfort* claymes the Duchy, comes to *Paris* to do homage for the same to the French King. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his wife, opposeth him, the controuersie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence passeth on the side of *Charles*. *Monfort* enraged repaires to the King of *England*, doth his homage vnto him for the Duchy, is receiued with great applause, and his title (howsoeuer held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning back into *Brittaine* both with comfort and means, after some encounters with his enemy, hee is taken and committed prisoner to the *Louure* in *Paris*: His wife the Countesse of *Monfort* sister to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders* (a Lady who seemed to haue more of the man then her brother) prosecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and encourages her people, surpriseth, and defends many strong pieces of *Brittaine*: but in the end, like to be ouerlaid by the power of *Charles de Blois*, she craues ayde of the King of *England*, and hath it sent, vnder the conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieved her for the present, but the future required more whereof King *Edward* was not sparing, in regard of his owne designs, for aydes are seldom sent to forrainers but for the senders benefit. The Lady her selfe comes ouer into *England* to treat both for supplies and alliance, tending a match betwene her sonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer*, and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, are sent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the encounters, surpriseth and recoverings of Fortes betwene the English and the French; and in this action *Robert de Artois* receiued his last wound, at the siege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to dye in *England*, it being not in his Fate, that his country (which by his meanes had suffered so much affliction) should haue his bones, though it had his blood, which hee lost with little honour, though with much valour, leauing behinde him but the fame of a Rebell, after he had serued the English about fixe yeares.

King *Edward* shortly after these supplies sent into *Brittaine*, goes himselfe in person with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recovered by the French) *John* Duke of *Normandy* eldest sonne to the French King, sent to ayde *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thousand, came to giue him battaile, and beeing vpon the point of encounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinals, sent from Pope *Clement* the sixth, and concluded for three yeares, vpon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two kingdomes, but not to determine them without the consent of both Kings. This pause againe giues them more time to worke for greater wounds, and nothing is left vnpractised that might aduance the same. And though the people now seemed to put off their Armour, they left not off armes, but had diuerse bickrings, both in *Brittaine* and *Gascony*, for which either side accused other.

King *Edward* returning, makes an expedition into *Scotland* against *K. David*, whom he chased into the Ilands: And here the *Isle of Man* is conquered by *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, whom King *Edward* caused to be stiled King thereof, and returning backe, solemne Turneaments are held at *Dunstable*, where hee is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the pastime, and exercise in *England* were Iustes and Turneaments held in *Smithfield*, *Windsor*, and other places. A society of Knights of the round table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, is designed, and a magnificent chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the same at *Windsor*, and to this society many strangers of other countries are allured. The French King also practises the like martial association in *France*.

And about this time began the order of the *Garter*, instituted at *Windsor* vpon a solemne feast there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and serued that time as an Embleme of a tie and combinement in honour of such as were admitted thereunto which was the end of the constitution thereof: Howsoeuer the *Garter* of the Countesse

1343.
Anno.
Reg. 17
The institution
of the
order of the
Garter.

tesse of *Salisbury*, taken vp by the King in dancing with her, was sayde to haue beene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an Act of Leuity, seeing with what a graue and religious ceremony it is performed. Although, we see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence giue beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

But besides these exercises of Armes, this great and prouident King, during this truce, takes especiall care for the gouernment of the Kingdome, and reformation of the abuses thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity haue sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a state. A Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein vpon the grievous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgeesses against the collation of Benefices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope *Clement 6.* in humble manner beseeching him to consider *how inconuenient, and derogatory it was to the state of the Kingdome of England, that such reseruations, prouisions, and collations of Benefices as had beene formerly vsed, should in such sort bee continued. For that the Churches of England had in times past bin endowed by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their own language: and how by the usurpation of some of his Predecessors, strangers, and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, whereby the money and profits were transported, the Cures unfurnished, almes and Hospitality vnused, the edifices ruined, the charity and deuotion of the people diminished, and many other grieuous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occasioned: Which they could not suffer any longer, and therefore besought his holinesse wholly to reuoke such reseruations, prouision and collations, that meete and native persons might exercise the Cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to imploy their diligence, that remedy & redresse might be had according to reason.* The date of these letters was in full Parliament at *Westminster* the 28. of May, 1343. with which were likewise sent the Kings letters to the same effect, by Sir *Iohn Shordich*, a graue person and of great vnderstanding in the Law; whose message made him so vnwelcome to that Court, as hee departed without leaue, or answer, which though the Pope afterward sent: yet the King proceeded to the prohibition of all such prouisions and collations within his Realm, on paine of imprisonment, or death to whomsoever should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the preiudice of the Kings royall prerogative. And to this effect were Writs directed to all Arch-bishops, Bishops, and others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing preiudicial to this ordinance.

Here is the Arch-bishop *Strausford* with much adoe vpon his submission reconciled to the Kings fauour. And much debating there in this Parliament concerning Wools and the assailement of certaine prices vpon the same, more or lesse, according to the severall parts of the Realme: And concerning customes to bee imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe vpon the transportation of enery sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this businesse.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners are appointed to be sent to the Pope to treat of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *Iohn Bishop of Exeter, Henry de Lancaster, Earle of Derby, Hugh le Despencier Lord of Glamorgan, Cousins to the King, Ralph Lord Stafford* with others.

The next yeare after another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much altercation, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had beene for the warres in *France*, is decayed, and Nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the subiects. And for their better commodity the exchange of moneys at *London, Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after generall Musters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into euery countrey to inquire of mens abilities, and of all five pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horse-backe, of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and so ratably aboue.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benefices in England.

Sir *Iohn Shordich* sent with these letters.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* reconciled.

Prince *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*.

1344
Anno.
Reg. 18
A Parliament

Generall musters and appointing of Armour.

about. The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast vnto him: and at *Sluce*, *Iaques van Artenile* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire vnto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle should doe homage to the King of *England*, or else be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* receiued for their Lord; for which King *Edward* promises to erect their County to a Dukedome. *Artenile* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the rest of the Commissioners require leaue to acquaint therewith the townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to haue the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Artenile* notwithstanding vndertakes to induce them vnto it, and returnes to *Gaut*, garded with five hundred *Welsh*, which he desired to haue, for that one *Gerrard Denyse* Prouost of the *Weavers* opposed him, and sought his destruction. The people whom hee had so often led to mutiny against others, now vpon his returne rose againe himselfe, and a Cöbler with an Axe strake out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his businesse in those parts. Yet the townes sent to excuse themselves of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gartois*, and in all things vowing their faithfull seruice vnto him: onely to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renewed betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designs.

But now the waies in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Darby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agensis*, *Angolsme*, *Rious*, *Saint Basile*, with many other Cities and Castles, The French King sends his eldest sonne *John* Duke of *Normandy* to encounter him, who recouers the Cities of *Angolsme*, and *Ville Franche*, and thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and hee the same on him, for entertayning King *Dauid*, and setting the *Scots* vpon attempts of inuasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to holde their hands any longer from the fatall work of destruction.

It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and actiue Kings raigne, wherein hee had prepared the greatest Fleete that euer yet crossed the seas for *France*, and ouer he passes into *Normandy* in *July*, leauing for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy*, and *Neuile*, taking the young Prince with him, about the age of fifteene yeares, to learne him the way of men, and what trauell greatnes was borne to endure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and ten thousand Archers, besides *Welch* and *Irish*, which followed on foote; hee had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barons, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *John*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkley*, and *Willoughbie*, with diuers other, both Knights and gallant Captaines. Hee had of late entertayned *Godfrey de Harecourt*, who had beene as a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, vpon some discontent, or doubt of some discoueries of fauouring the English party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Percy*, *Geffery de Malestroit*, men of especiall marke, whom hee had there employed. And now in stead of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *John de Beaumont*, who had long serued him, was his wifes Vncle, and acquainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercenaries, who sell their faith for better entertainment. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meane time did him and his countrey much mischief. For vpon King *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Constantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Constable. Hee diuides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the sea coast; the other on the right, conducted by the two

Marshals

1346
Anno.
Reg. 20
The king
goes with a
mighty Army
into *Norman-*
dy.

John de Beau-
mont when
king *Edward*
had made him
Earle of *Cam-*
bridge, takes
the French
kings part.

Marshalls, and himselfe in the midst with his maine Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* imployed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the ships he found on the Sea coast. The three Armies by land lodged every night in one field. And first he sackes the Citie of *Caranton*, slew all hee found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the Citie, slaying he sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon, Percy*, and others (whose heads hee found set vpon the principall gate) vniustly massacred by *Philip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke *Saint Lo*, a rich Towne of marchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickring, became Master of *Caen*, and put all that countrey into so great terror, as *Falaise, Lyseaux, Honfleur*, strong walled townes, rendered themselves vnto him. This done he spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Philip* to the combate, giuing out that he would wraastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall Citie of *Paris*.

The manner of King Edward proceeding with his Army.

Philip this while held not his armes in his bosome, but had ramassed one of the fairest Armies, saith the *French* History, that euer was scene in *France*, composed of *French, Lorraines, Almaines, Genouoys*, which he led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was said to haue made a stand and attended him; but vpon report of his coming on, retyres: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the euent shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Philip* followes and ouertakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarkable (signifying the Sand) to show on what vnstable earth all the trust of humane forces, and the designs of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Philip*, hauing the aduantage to bee at home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the Riuer of *Somme* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage was to be disputed by the sword. For *Philip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and sixe thousand foote. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolues to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the Riuer, crying out: *They who loue mee will follow mee*. At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, struing who should bee formost, and so presently the shoare gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with this vnexpected, and bold aduerture, astonishes his people by his fearefull countenance. So that the *English* incounter the *French* all in disorder, fell vpon them and put them to flight. But the retraite was neere to *Abbe-ville* and *Saint Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but serued as a presage for a greater mitchiefe to *France*. These distouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-ville*. Where King *Philip* iraged with this dishonour, resolued to reuenge it, and presently to prouoke King *Edward* to the combate. The aduise of his Councell was otherwise; to suffer his trompes to repose some few daies, and recouer their spirits, and King *Edward* to coole and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-ville* one day, whiles the bridge to passe ouer his Army, was repaying. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field he marches, eleuated with an assured hope of a triumphant victory.

The French King prepares to oppose King Edward.

King Edward goes ouer the riuer of *Somme*, defeats the French.

The French King resolues to incounter King Edward.

His impatience and his hopes.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Gracy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the trees of the Forrest about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Parke to bee paled vnder the wood side behinde his hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirtie thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard he gaue to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfray de Harecourt*, the Lords *Stafford, De la ware, Bourcheir, Clifford, Cobham, Holland*, Sir *John Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sir *Robert Neuille* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them *Welch men*. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse, Willoughby, Baffer, Saint Albin, Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelue hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himselfe, hauing seuen hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battailes thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, hee rode from ranke to ranke

The ordering of King Edwards Army.

ranke to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, incouraging euery man that day to haue regard to his right and honour.

The *French Kings Army* was greater both in lustre and aduantage, composed of about sixty thousand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles Earle of Alanfon* the Kings brother, *Iohn de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph Duke of Lorraine*, the Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers*, *Sancerre*, the *Dolphin de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand: and on the Eue of the battaile *Amé Earle of Sauoy* arriued with a thousand men at armes more, which made the *French King* swell with assurance of the masterie, so that he longed to be at the encounter. The Vauntgard hee commits to his brother Conte *d'Alanfon*, the Reere to the Earle of *Sauoy*, the maine battaile hee leads himselfe: his heate would scarce permit time for a little counsell what was fit to bee done. The old King of *Bohemia* aduised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouefe* (which were about fiftene thousand crosse-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cauallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After this repast the Vauntgard set on, the Conte *d'Alanfon*, contrarie to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genouefe* were in the first ranke, and in fury caused them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Army, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the leader then the enemy: besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissolued their strings and made their bowes vnusefull, and at the breaking vp of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their sight) and on the backes of the *English*, as if all made for them.

The ordering
of the *French
Kings Army*
at the battell
of *Cressly*.

King *Edward*
discouers the
disorders of
the *French*.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a winde-mill hill, beholding as from a Sentinell, with a setled spirit, the countenance of the enemy, and discouering both this accident, and the hurlement made by the change of place, slackes not to take aduantage thereof, and instantly sends to charge that part, without giuing them time to reacommodate themselves; inso much as the discouraged *Genouefe* recoyle, which the Conte *d'Alanfon* perceiuing, and comming on with the horse, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let vs make way vpon the bellies of these Genouefe, who doe but hinder vs*: and instantly prickes on with a full carrier through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorraine*, *Sauoy*, and the *Dolphin de Viennois*, and neuer takes breath till hee came vp to the *English* battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better setled: their horses flanked with troupes of Archers, whose strings hauing not felt the raine, rained such a shower of Steele vpon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The *French* king seeing his brother thus indangered, makes vp to disingage him, whereupon the fight grew hotte and doubtfull, inso much as the Commanders about the Prince, send to King *Edward* to come vp with his power to ayde them: the King demands the messenger, whether his sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but hee was like to bee ouer laide. Well then said the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, *that so long as my sonne is aline, they send no more to me what euer happen, for I will that the honour of this day bee his*. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the sword, and recovered the aduantage, by reason the *French King* (hauing his horse slaine vnder him and in danger to bee troden to death, had hee not bene recovered by the Lord *Iohn Beaumont*, his new Pensioner) was to the great discouragement of his people withdrawn out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the *English*, the day was soone after theirs, and the greatest victory they euer had yet against the *French*: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one prisoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the sword could ouertake, slaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, saued themselves by retyring to places neere adioyning. The *French* king himselfe with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*. His voyce being knowne the gates are opened, and in is hee receiued with the teares and lamentations of his people, whom yet he seekes to comfort all he could. The number of the
slaine

King *Edward*
obtaines the
victory in this
great battell
of *Cressly*.

The *French
King* flies.

slaine on the place are certified to be 30. thousand. The chieffemen were *Charles d'Alphon*, *John Duke of Borbone*, *Ralph Earle of Lorraine*, *Louys Earle of Flanders*, *Iagues Dauphin de Viennois*, son to *Imbert* (who after gaue *Dauphine* to the Crowne of France) the Earles of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned vpon the Saturday after *Bartholemew day*, being the 26. of *August* 1346.

The number of the slaine.

All the Markes of an intire ouerthrow rested with King *Edward*: the field of the Battaille, the bodies of the slaine, and their spoiles. The occasion of this great defeat (according to humane coniecture) the French attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their King and his brother, and sure temeritie and presumption haue euereene the ruine of great Actions, especially in warre.

King *Edward* managed this victorie with as great moderation as he wanne it: and first, hauing imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour shewed that day, he renders thanks to God after, as he had inuoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battaille, and early in the morning, beeing Sunday, he sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discouer what was become of the enemy, who found great Troupes of such as were coming from *Abbeuile*, *St. Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and slew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fledde from the Battaille, or coming on, hauing lost their way by reason of a thicke mist which hapned that morning) were slaine many more then in the field the day before, which sheweth vs the wonderfull losse this afflicted Countrey susteined at one fatall blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeere, there was another of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home against the King of *Scots*; who being set on by the French to diuert the war there, entred vpon the Kingdome with 60. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfrisle*, Earle of *Angos*, *Henry Percie*, *Ralph Nisile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they vtterly defeated this great Armie; tooke *Dauid* their King prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Monteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *Scots*. This victorie fell likewise vpon a Saturday, and fixe weekes after that of *Cressie*. And as if all concurred to make this yeere triumphant. The aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfert* in *Brittaine*, lead by Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, ouerthrew and tooke prisoner, *Charles de Blois*, pretender to that Duchie, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacq*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: there were slaine in the encounter the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken (*Vicont Rohan*), *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direual*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the sword of *England*.

King *Dauid* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

Charles de Blois taken prisoner.

Now King *Edward*, without meddling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and sets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest: wherein *John de Viemie* Marthall of *France*, and the Lord *d'Andreghen*, a great man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King *Edward* hauing sheltred his people as in another Towne, furnished with all prouisions, lay without any molestation of the French King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne state. Misfortune is euere held a great fault, both in mightie men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are peruerse. The people of *France* were in extreame pouertie, yet notwithstanding the necessitie of the Kings affaires must constrainne fresh supplies. The ill managing the publike treasure, the fallhood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of

King *Edward* besiegeth *Calais*.

The State of
France.

of Monies, the deminishing of trafficke, augmentation of imposts, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmure, and put the people in dispaire, seeing no end of the troubles wherein their King was daily more and more engaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the Financiers, Receiuers and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treasure committed to the disposing of the Cleargie and the Nobles, to take away suspition in the people of ill dealing. Foure Bishops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are chosen for that businesse. *Pierre des Essars* Treasurer of France, is committed to prison, condemned in a great Fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants restore at once, what they were long in gathering. The *Banquiers*, *Lombards*, and other vsurers, are put to the presse for their vnlawfull exactions: and the Intrests are prooued to exceed the Principall, which is confiscate to the King, and the Interest given to the Debtors. Courses, wherewith indigent Kings in expensive times vse to serue their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I haue the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise laide hand vpon what they could fasten, as well as ours haue done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Vsurer is new to vs, but yet like to that practised heretofore vpon the *Jewes*, and might serue a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a shew of a iust correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready seruice of his Nobles and ablest subiects, the French King, in the spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Callais*, but finds no way open to come to releue it. The King of England was both Master of the Hauen, and possesse of all other waies whatsoever were passable, and had the *Flemmings* his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischief on the confines of France. To oppose them, is *John Duke of Normandy*, the Prince, sent for out of *Guien*, who being no sooner remooued from thence, but *Henry of Lancaster*, Earle of *Derby* became master of the field (hauing an Army consisting of twelue hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foot *English* and *Gascoines*) takes in most of the Townes of *Tainonge*, and *Poitou*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poytiers*, and so returnes to *Burdeaux* with more pillage then his people could well beare. Thus the French suffer euery where. Their King, not being able to approach to grapple with the King of England, sends to sollicit him to appoint some place of battaile, and hee would incounter him. King *Edward* returnes answer; *If hee would make his owne way to come thither vnto him, there hee should finde him: for, from thence hee would not part, hauing there laine so long, to his great labour and charge, and being now so neere the point of gaining the place.* The two Cardinals sent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commissioners on either side meete to treat: but nothing could bee effected. So that the French King was forced to breake vp his Armie and retire to *Paris*, leauing *Callais*, and the defendants vnreleued, to the mercy of the Besieger, which when they vnderstood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein receiued this finall sentence: that sixe of the chiefe Burgeses should bee sent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselues to the Kings will: for the residue hee was content to take to mercy. This sentence intimated to the miserable townesmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who should bee chosen for this sacrifice, one amongst the rest stands vp, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow citizens, for mine owne part I that haue so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Countrie (and haue bene euery day to die) am now most willing to sacrifice the same for my last oblation thereunto, and will cheerefully carry my head to the victorie of the King of England, not desiring to suruiue the perdition of my miserable Countrie.* Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed people, as now they strue who should bee one of the sixe; and cryed, *Let vs goe, let vs goe vnto death, it is the last duty we ought to render to our native soyle.* Sixe are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselues on their knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew mercy

Conditions
for the rendering
of *Callais*.

mercy vnto them. The King commands them instantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Counsell) be diuerted; in regard as he said of his oath: till the Queene, great with Child, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them giuen vnto her; which done she caused them to be clothed, gaue them their dinner, and fixe nobles a man, appointing them to be safely conuayed out of the Armie, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her deed of mercie. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood then his Grand-father *Edward 1.* and had more of Compassion; as shewed an Act in this Seige. When victuals within the Towne began to faile, and all vnusefull persons, as olde men, women, and children put out of the gates, hee forced them not backe againe which hee might haue done, the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe thorow his Armie, gaue them to eate, and two pence a peece to euery one.

And thus was that strong Towne of *Calais* the third of *August* 1347. gotten, after almost an yeeres siege with infinite cost and labour: all the inhabitants are turned out, and sent away to seeke new dwellings; a Colonie of the *English* planted therein, and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of *England*, 210. yeeres after. And now this triumphant King hauing made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince, and his people into *England*, to make Holy-day, and inioy the benefite of their booties brought home out of *France*, which are said to bee so great as euery house had some part, and the wiues of *England*, now flourish with the stufte and ornaments of those of *France*, who in the meane time lament their losses: and here is nothing but Feasts, and Triumphes throughout the Kingdome. And to adde to this glorie, the Princes *Electors* send to signifie, that they had chosen King *Edward*, King of the *Romans*: which great dignitie, notwithstanding he refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumberfome to deale withall.

But before that yeere ended, this great iollitie, heere in *England* turned to the saddest mourning that could be possible. The inuisible Sword of Heauen makes such a rauage vpon Mankinde, as had not beene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence ariseth in the East and South parts of the World, that disspreads it selfe ouer all Christendome. And in *England* they write that it tooke away more then the halfe of men: as if the Diuine prouidence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields, and take to it selfe the vengeance of blood-shed in this terrible manner. Churchyards could not heere suffice to burie the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in *London*, betweene the first of *January* and the first of *July* 57374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those eger Princes from prosecuting their quarrell, nor yet so vn furnissh their fields but that they found still fresh hands for blood-shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yet it gaue some pawse, till the feruour of the contagion asswaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterilitie of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heauens, and want of culture.

The first Action after this, was the Kings going ouer to *Calais*, vpon an information of a practife to surpriseth the Towne, contriued by the *French*, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charmy*, Gouvernour of *Saint Omers*, had dealt with *Americo de Pavia*, whom King *Edward* had left Captaine of the Castle of *Calais*, offering him 20. thousand Crownes to be receiued into the Castle: *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the businesse. In which night (by aduertisement from *Americo*) King *Edward* arriues with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monsieur Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from *Saint Omers* with his Forces, and sent 100. armed men before with the Crownes to *Americo*, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Posterne Gate, the Crownes receiued, and themselves laide in hold. Which done the

The Queene obtaines pardon for the Burgesses of *Calais*.

King *Edward*s Clemencie.

The conquest of the Towne of *Calais*.

King *Edward* returnes into *England*.

King *Edward* refuseth the Election of King of the *Romans*. The first great Pestilence.

Anno
Reg. 23

King *Edward* goes ouer to *Calais*.

The *French* circumuented in their practife.

the gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monsieur de Charny*, coming on with his forces, who perceiving himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defence he could, and the King of *England* to a hard bickring; who, for that he would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince, vnder the colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by *Mongeur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recouered, and in the end tooke *Riboumont* prisoner. *Charny* was likewise taken, and all his forces defeited. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the new yeere) feasted with the prisoners, and gaue *Riboumont* in honour of his valour (wherein he honoured his owne) a rich chaplet of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head (for a New-yeeres-gift) forgave him his ranfome, and set him at liberty. The rest pay dearly for what they got not, and were well warned how to trafficke in that kinde. Yet the *English* not long after in the like practise had better successe, and got the Castle of *Guisnes* (a peece of great importance neere *Calais*) for a summe of money giuen to one *Beauconroy* a *French* man. Of which Castle, when the *French* King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce; King *Edward* returnes answer: *That for things bought and sold betweene their people, therein was no exception, and so held it.*

1305.

Anno.

Reg. 24

The French king dies,

Shortly after, the *French* King not borne to liue to see any better fortune, dyes, leauing that distressed Kingdome to his sonne *John*; who found farre worse. For these fore noted wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, and after in the Raignes of *Charles* 6. and 7. till the sword of *England* was turned home vpon it selfe, to let out the blood of reuenge with as tragicall mischiefs, on the successeurs of these actors, who now thus wrought others ruines aboade.

King *Edward*, the next yeere after, is againe in person with a Fleet on the Sea, to incounter certaine *Spanish* shippes, pasing from *Flanders* loaden with cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on either side, hee tooke with all their substance: for that the *Spaniards* the yeere before, entered the Riuer *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine *English* ships, loaden with wines and slew all the *English*. His forces in *Guien* were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betweene the *French* and them; notwithstanding the Truce which was renewed. The warres in *Brittaine* likewise continue, and are hotly maintained betweene the two Ladies, the widow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Bloys* (whose husband remains prisoner in *England*) eager defenders of eithers pretended right.

Diuerse ouertures of peace had beene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often mette, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could bee concluded, (the winner and the loser seldome agreeing vpon conditions, in regard the one will haue more then the other is willing to yeeld vnto) and so temporary Truces (which were but slenderly obserued) are onely taken to winne time. These actions not only consumed our men, but the treasure of the kingdome. The warre, though inuasiue, could not maintaine it selfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of siluer called sterlings: but now grotes of foure-pence, and halfe grotes of two pence, equiuolent to the sterling money, are coined, which inhanfed the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty of scarcitie of Coine. Which made seruants and labourers to raises their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was giuen before the late great Mortality. This caused much murmuring amongst them, imputing the cause thereof to *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the Author of the abatement of the Coine.

The King conceiuing displeasure against the *Flemmings*, for being disappointed of the Match betweene a Daughter of his, and their yong Eare of *Louys* (who was escaped

King *Edward*
in action at
sea against the
Spaniards.

Alterations of
monies.

A Parliament.

Anno.

Reg. 27

ped into *France*, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart or Staple of woollens from their Townes, greatly enriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster, Chichester, Canterbury, Lincolne, Warwicke, Torke, New-castle, Excester, Carmarden, Brisfoll, and Hull*. Holding it fitter to aduance his own townes then strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are prouident Ordinances enacted, for the gouerning and ordering this Staple.

The Staple established in England.

An Act is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Milles, and other stoppages of Riuers, hindring the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels should bee remooued. An Act most commodious to the Kingdome, but it tooke little effect, saith my Authour, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords, and great men, who regarded more their owne, then the pnblike benefite: A mischiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behoueufull an act was ordained. For, this easie conuaying and passing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinit benefite to this state: And seeing God hath made vs Riuers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if we marre them, or make them not vsefull in that kind, as other nations do with farre lesser streames.

Walsingham.

There is mentioned also an Act to be made, at the instance of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should weare any hood; except rayed, or striped with diuers colours, or Furses, but garments reuerfed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke vpon foulness, to make it appeare the more odious.

Stow.

After this Parliament, *Henry Earle of Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Ralph Lord Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and heere *Charles de Bloys*, a long prisoner in *England*, agreed for his Ransome, which was 40. thousand *Florins*, and was permitted to returne into *Britaigne* to prouide the same. Great mediation is made by the *Pope* to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meet on both sides, to treat and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; That the King of *England* should enioy all the Lands of his Duchy of *Aquitaine*, without holding the same by resort or homage of the Crowne of *France*: and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his Clayme and title to that Kingdome. And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the *French* (Alledging they could not alienate any thing from the Body of that Crowne) to their farther confusion and mischiefe, hauing beene better to haue spared a formal Ceremony appertaining to a part, then to haue had the whole so miserably rent and torne in pieces as it was. And yet in the end were they faine to make their agreement vpon the same very Article, at the Treaty of *Brutigny*.

The Earle of Derby created Duke of Lancaster.

Treatie of Peace.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew so displeased, as hee would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were not instantly vrg'd by two Cardinals, sent from *Auignon* by *Pope Clement* the 6. (who being a *French-man* borne, laboured much for the peace of his Countrey) and preparation is made for fresh wars. The Prince of *Wales* now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gascoigne* with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in Iune following, sets foorth with 300. Sayle; attended with the Earles of *Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisbury, and Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *James Audley*, Sir *Robert Knoles*, Sir *Franke de Hall*, with many others.

Anno. Reg. 27

About *Michelmas* following, the King himselfe passes ouer to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his sonnes, *Lionel* of *Antwarpe*, now Earle of *Ulster*, (by the right of his wife, *Elizabeth* daughter and heire to *William Brugh*;) And *John* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmont*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercenaries out of *Germany, Flanders, and Brabant*, a thousand men at Armes. So that his Army consisted of three thousand men of Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe; besides Archers on foote. The City of *London* sent 300. men at Armes, and 500. Archers all in one Liurey, at their owne charge. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the *French* king would not be drawne to any encounter: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people,

King Edward passes with an Army into France.

Returns without doing any thing.

but he so disfurnishes the country (where the *English* were to passe) of all provisions to sustaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne.

The distemperatures of *France* that this time diseased it, grew from the violent humors of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, who had married *Jane* the French Kings daughter, a Prince of a stirring spirit, subtle, haughty, and presuming vpon his great Estate, and high blood, being the sonne of *Louys* Conte d'*Eurux* and *Jane* daughter to King *Louys* Huttin, which *Jane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Philip de Long* her Vncle, in regard of the *Solicque* Law: and by him preferred to be Queene of *Nauarre*, in whose right this *Charles* her sonne, bare both the title and state of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that hee had not also the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which appertained to his mother by the same right as did the kingdome of *Nauarre*, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) hee falles vpon the Constable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, and one of whom he was iealous, in regard of the Kings particular fauour vnto him, and in the end caused him to bee murdered in his bed at *L'Aigle* in *Normandy*, rushing himselfe vp into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother *Philip* of *Nauarre*, two of the *Harecourts*, and diuers other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, hee retyres to his owne City of *Eurux*, and iustifies the act to be lawfull.

The *French* King, though extremely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporise, and promisthe King of *Nauarre*, if hee would come and craue pardon, hee should haue it. Whereupon hee appeares at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason (notwithstanding the Kings promise) and committed prisoner. Three Queenes are earnest sutors for him, his mother (the olde Queene of *Nauarre*) his sifter (the widdow of the late King *Philip de Valois*) and his owne wife daughter to the *French* King. His release is obtayned, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had beene better not giuen, vlesse it had beene home) offers his seruice to the King of *England* (who knew well how to make vse of such a powerfull member) and withall surprises certayne pieces in *Normandy*, practising all he could to withdrawe the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when he had most neede of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding the *French* King is faine to endure and dissemble, vntill hee might againe take him vpon some aduantage: to vse force, he saw was dangerous, both in regard of his party, and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon he seizes. *Charles* his eldest sonne being lately inuested in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is visited by all the great men in the Countrey, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of *Nauarre*, and is royally feasted at *Roan*. Whereof the *French* king hauing notice, sets out of *Paris* suddenly, takes him at dinner with his sonne, and without farther proceffe causes foure of the principall which massacred the Constable, to be presently executed: of which, two were the *Harecourts* brethren: and withall sends away *Nauarre* vnder sure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefeft seruants to diuers prisons.

This sudden execution, though it gaue a present amazement, yet it wakened the partisans of *Nauarre*, and especially *Philip* his brother, who with *Geffrey Harecourt* (Vncle to the two brethren) past ouer into *England*, exclayming against this violent murder, inuoking King *Edward*, in a case of so notorious iniustice, to ayde them: offering their hearts, their goods, their townes and hauens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occasion is entertayned, the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent ouer with foure thousand men at Armes, and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

King *Edward* to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament granted vnto him fifty shillings vpon euery sacke of wooll, for sixe yeares next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought, (say our histories) the King might dispend a thousand markes sterling, a day. Such vent of wooll was there in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in winter (to shew that hee was for all weathers) he

goes

The king of
Nauarre, disturbs the
French king.

The *French*
king commits
the king of
Nauarre pri-
soner.

The Duke of
Lancaster sent
into *Norman-*
dy to aide the
king of *Na-*
uarres brother
and others.

1335.

Anno.

Reg. 29

Fifty shillings
granted by
Parliament of
euery sack of
wooll, for sixe
yeares.

goes with an Army to recouer *Barwicke*, which had beene surprised by the *Scots*, whilest he was last at *Calais*; and here hath hee not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* resigned vnto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who helde himselfe King thereof by the best title, but not best regarded: for King *Alexander* (though now Prisoner in *England*) had the most powerfull party there: and so both were Kings to their feuerall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And euery where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recouerings in all parts.

Edward Baliol resignes the kingdome of King *Edward*, referuing to himselfe a pension.

The Prince enters *Guien*, passes ouer *Longuedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter in the field; sacks, spoyles, destroyes where he goes, and loaden with bootie returnes to *Burdeaux*.

The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in *Normandy*, recouers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to haue there preuailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppole this fresh Inuador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was againe abroad, and come vp into *Tourenne*; against whom he brings his whole Armie, causing all the Townes and passages vpon the Riuer *Loyr* to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince, whose forces were not to encounter those so mighty, was aduised to withdraw again thorow *Tourenne* and *Poytieu*, towards *Burdeaux*. The French King to preuent his course followes, and within two Leagues of *Poytiers* hath him at a great aduantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The French King supposing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliuer him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his discretion.

1336.
Anno.
Reg. 30
The French king hath the Prince of *Wales* at an aduantage.

The Prince was content to restore vnto him what he had gained vpon him, but without preiudice of his honour; wherein he said: *Hee stood accomptable to his Father, and to his Country*. So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly vrged) could preuaile nothing vpon the French Kings obstinacy: who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was fixe to one) would instantly (as loath to loose time to loose himselfe) set vpon the Prince: who reduced to this Straight, takes what aduantage he could of the ground, and proudly got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part hee was like to be assailed, to impester and intangle the French horse, which he saw were to come furiously vpon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Caulary of his enemies vpon their first assault, wrapt and incumbered amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

The battayle of *Poytiers*, fought the 19 of September. 1336.

For the French King to giue the honour of the day to his Cauallarie (wherof he had caused a choice to bee elected out of euery company, to the discontent of the rest (imployed them onely without his Infantry): So that they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be vtterly defeited.

The errors committed in the battaile of *Cressie*, could not warne the King to auoide the like. For had hee had the patience to haue tymed it out awhile, the Prince could not haue possibly subsisted, beeing thus inuironed, and shutte vp from all succours as hee was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and hauing no safety but what was to bee wrought by the Sword (which desperation euer makes the sharper.) Hee, and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glory that euer any Martiall action did, that was atchieued by the English with so fewe hands.

The French king taken prisoner.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome-claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne *Philip* (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers forsooke him, had afterward the Title of *Hardy*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Iaquies de Borbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*, the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, *Iohn d'Artoys*, Conte d'*Eu*, *Charles d'Artoys*, his brother Conte de *Longneville*, *Charles* Conte de *Tancarville*, the Coms of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of markes besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; in so much as the Conquerours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe.

The number of prisoners taken.

The slaine in
the battaile.

The *French*, who can giue best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battaile a thousand seauen hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two *Bannerets*: the most eminent, *Peter de Barbon*, the Duke d' *Athens* Constable of *France*, *Ian de Clermont* Marshall, *Geffrey de Charny* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battaile three of the *French Kings* sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the first so intituled) *Louys* after Duke of *Aniou*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry*, all great actours in the time following.

This blow might seeme to haue beene enough to hane vtterly ouerthrowne that kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in severall parts, and contained so wide an extent of state, as all this blood letting could not dissolue it, or make it faint to giue ouer. And sure these powerfull kingdomes, howsoever they may be diseased, and suffer, either through the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can neuer (vnlesse by a generall dissolution) be so low brought, but they will recouer againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which neuer fayle all together.

A memorable
act of *Iames*
Lord *Audley*.

The Prince of *Wales* in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword the other by his Curtesie: first hee visits the captiue King, with all reuerence and regard of Maiesty, comforts him by examples of the fortunes of warre, and assures him of all faire entertainment according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were actors in this worke must not passe vnremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, *Basset*: Of *Gascoignes*. *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Iames Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who hauing vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince hauing rewarded him with the gift of five hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, hee presently gaue it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him endured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, he answered how these men had deserued the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gaue him five hundred markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deseruings went not vnrewarded.

133
Anno.
Reg. 31

All things providently accomodated after the battaile, the Prince with his prisoners first retires to *Burdeaux*, and then passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of triumph. The *French* king is lodged at the *Sauoy*, then a goodly palace of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*. Many prisoners vpon reasonable ransom, and many vpon the *French* kings word (vndertaking for them) are deliuered and sent home honourably. *David* King of *Scots*, who had remayned prisoner eleuen yeares in *England*, is shortly after, by the earnest solicitation of *Iean* his wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransom of a hundred thousand markes striulin, to bee paid in tenne yeares. The security now had of *France*, gaue way to this Princes liberty.

The state of
France during
their kings
captiuitie.

Above foure yeares the *French* King remained prisoner in *England*, in which time were many ouertures, and great offers made for his deliury, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that kingdome (during the captiuitie of his father) a Prince of great discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yeelde their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little preuayled. The Parliament there called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, then provides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had grauely deliuered the desolation and danger they were in, beeing thus deprived of their Head, and the necessity of recovering and relieuing the same, by their vtmost meanes: There was a choyce required of fifty to auoyde confusion) to bee made out of all the Provinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receiue. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their resolution

lution, which was much otherwise then hee expected. For in stead of ayde and subvention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should be vttered vnto him by the *States*. The yong Prince answers: *That it were much preiudiciall to the degree hee held in the Kingdome, to take Law of his Fathers Subiects*: and therefore commaunded them (by their Allegiance) openly to reueale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop thereupon, declares the euill managing of the Publike reuenues, demands redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeeld their Accounts, *That all who had managed the Treasury, should bee depofed from their Office; That both the moneys, and all the affaires of the State, should from thencefoorth bee directed by foure Bishops, and twelue Burgesfes, whereof the City of Paris should be chiefe: and that without this Councell the Dauphin should doe nothing*: And in conclusion, they instantly require; *That the King of Nauarre might be set at liberty*. On which conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subvention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the *Dauphin* requires time to answer, which hee so puts off from day to day, (in hope thereby to separate and dis-vnite their Councels) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake vp without doing any thing.

But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demand to haue the King of *Nauarre* deliuered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Piquigny*, the *Gouernour* of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as hee was deliuered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied, as shewed both of what spirit and state he was, and that hee meant to take his time of reuenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs hee had received; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*, thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the businesse of redeeming the captiue King quite out of their mindes for that time: and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an Acte of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Nauarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the peruersenesse of the *Parisians*, goes to sollicite other Cities, and Prouinces: trauieling from place to place for aide and succour, leauing his brother *Philip*, Duke of *Orleanse*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The king of
Nauarre let at
liberty.

The Prouince of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Histories, for beeing the first that made the largest offer of aide towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their *Gouernour*, the *Comte d'Arminiacq*, not onely to imploy their Reuenue, but their mooueables, and euen to sell their wiuies Iewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publike sorrowe, they ordaine, that no costly Apparrell, Feasting, Playes, or other ioltyties, should be vsed within their Prouince, during the time of their Kings captiuitie. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could mooue the *Parisians* to yeelde any thing. The King of *Nauarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanity, and put them into such flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the City, the Prouost of Marchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe vp into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin* being amazed, the Prouost bids him bee content, it was resolued it must be so. And presently vpon Signall giuen, *Jan de Couflans*, and *Robert de Cleremont*, Marshall of *France*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slayne in his presence. The *Dauphin* cries out; *What meane you? Will you set vpon the Blood of France? Sir* (said the Prouost) *Feare you not, It is not you we seeke, it is your disloyall seruants, who haue euill counsailed you*. And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with gold, and sets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Liurey of the City vpon this *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of Dictator-ship, causing the bodyes

of these two noble men to bee trayled along the streetes to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murther, to gaze on.

This done the Prouest writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to ioyne with theirs (the principall of the kingdome) and take their Liurey, as the Dauphin had done, for the reformation of thee state. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselves, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Premier President, the Prouest, with some of the Vniuersity, were chiefe, assuming a Soueraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that wee see in what a miserable confusion that kingdome stood, beeing without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all authority, and dissolue the government into parts: shewing vs that it was no new proiect amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practised to doe, in their leagues during their ciuill combustions.

The Dauphin thus disgraced, with much a doe, gets out of this tumultuous Citie, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assembles the states of the Country, whom he found loyall, and ready to yeeld him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdain) to ioyne with the City of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that he was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Nauarre*, who sought his destruction, still rayled new broyles in the state, and taken Armes against him.

Now besides these confusions, greater mischiefs arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Payants that had bene eaten out by the souldiours, and troden vnder foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselves in the Countrey of *Beauuoysis*, and turne head vpon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, lacking, burning their houses, killing their wiues and children in most outrageous manner. This was not all, troupes of souldiers which had no worke or meanes to liue, ioyne together in mighty Companies, ouer-runne and rauage other parts of the kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out vpon the confining Countries, and returne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth. All which miserable calamities (enough to haue vtterly dissolued a state) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could bee effected for his ransome, which King *Edward* thinks long till he haue in his Treasury: and vrges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *John* should doe homage, and holde the kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great disdain refuses, as beeing not in his power to alien what was vnalienable, vowing that no misery of his, should constrain him to doe any thing preiudiciall to his successors, to whom hee would leaue the state as hee receiued it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions then the *French* were willing to yeeld vnto, which beeing long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeares expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolues to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the kingdome of *France*. And ouer hee passeth to *Calais*, with a Flecte of eleauen hundred sayle. His Army hee deuides into three battailes, one hee commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third hee leades himselfe. And first hee marches to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes, Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Neuers*, are rendered vnto him. The Duchy of *Burgogne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, vpon paying two hundred thousand Florins of golde. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, vp King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the title of Regent, hauing lately overcome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common danger flocked together to defend their Country) and would not (by the example of his father and Grandfather) bee drawne out to hazard vpon any attempt, but stood onely vpon his defences: which the King of *England* seeing, after many prouocations, rayled his siege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army.

In

France spoiled
by the souldiers
and others
on all sides.

King *Edward*
goes to take
possession of
the kingdome
of *France*.

Anno.

Reg. 34

In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty store of victuals, provides that the Souldiers should haue enough without presing the inhabitants, and with extreame diligence so fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreshed power, was vterly disappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great City which was like to haue endangered the whole kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preferue it.

From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpose to besiege that Citie, but being by an horrible tempest of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell vpon his Army, so terrified as he vowed to make peace with the *French King*, vpon any reasonable conditions, as he shortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, vpon these Articles. That the country of *Poitou*, the Fiefes of *Thouars*, and *Belleville*, the Countrie of *Gascoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergne*, *Angoumois* in soueraigntie, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, *Monstruel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merck*, *Sangote* *Boulogne*, *Hemes*, *Vales* and *Onis* should bee to the King of *England*: who besides was to haue three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof sixe hundred thousand presently in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after insuing, vpon reasonable payment.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Successors for euer, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the Duchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, *Maine*, the Soueraigntie and Homage of the Duchy of *Britaigne*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Callais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should be giuen into his hand Hostages: *Louys Duke of Aniou*, *John Duke of Berry* (King *Johns* sonnes) *Philip Duke of Orleance* his brother, *John Duke of Burgogne*, the Counts of *Blois*, *Alençon*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *de Brenne des Forrefts*, the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Couscy*, *Piennex*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Mome-rancy de Garancieis*, *La Roche guion*, *Esfonteuille*, *Le Dauphin d'Auergne*, *d'Andrigil*, *de Craon*, sufficient cautions for the said Summes, and conditions. The Scots not to be ayded by the *French King*, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*. *Charles King of Nauarre*, and his brother *Philip* are comprehended likewise in these Articles, &c.

This treatie of good accord and finall Peace, signified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and sworne vnto by the Nobilitie of both Kingdomes. The Hostages are deliuered vnto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leauing the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to haue a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callais*, attending the promised Summe, the first gage of his libertie. The Citie of *Paris* yeelds one thousand Royals; by whose example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *John* deliuered, after hauing remained Prisoner in *England* neere about fife yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonstrations of brotherly Loue.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calles a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Estates, and an Oath taken by the Nobles to obserue the same for their partes. Here the King restores to the Priors *Aliens*, their Houses, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them Anno Reg. 12. for the maintenance of his *French*, Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Pattents, in as free manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a iust King, being seldome scene that Princes let goe any thing, whercon they haue once fastned.

Now againe, was the ioy and glory that *England* receiued by their gettings, seasoned with the sowrenesse of another mortalitie, called *The second Pestilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wisdome and valour: who had beene an especial Actor in all these Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: whose

The Treaty of Accord concluded at Britigny.

vid. Append.

King John deliuered.

1361.
Anno
Reg. 35

The second great Pestilence.

Anno.
Reg. 36

whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *John of Gaunt* (by dispensation being neere of consanguinitie) whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are provided of Matches within the Kingdome. The King giues to the Prince of *Wales*, the Duchy of *Aquitaine*, reseruing to himselfe Homage and Fealtie, and shortly after sends him ouer with his wife, and Court to liue there. His sonne *Lionell* Earle *Ulster* is sent into *Ireland*, with a regiment of 1500. men to guard his Earledome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in *November*, which continued vntill the feast of *Saint Brice*, King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeere of his age. Wherein for a *Iubilie* he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, reuoking Exiles, &c. And vpon petition of the Commons, causes *Pleas* which before were in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the subiect might vnderstand the Law, by which hee holds what he hath, and is to know what hee doth: A blessed act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby haue rendered the same also perspicuous, it had bene a worke of eternall honour, but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soeuer it speakes, it neuer speakes plaine, but is wrapt vp in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of profit are) as it giues more affliction to the people then it doth remedy. Here was also an act passed for Purueiours (as there had bene many before in his time) that nothing should be taken vp but for ready money, vpon strict punishment. For retribution of which relieuements the Parliament granted sixe and twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of euery sacke of wooll for three yeeres. Thus all were pleased, sauing, the remoouing of the *Saple*, from the Townes of *England* to *Calaie*, was some grievance to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to enrich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might herein be well borne withall. And sure this King, the most renowned for valour and Goodnesse, that euer raigned in this kingdome, not onely laboured to aduance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices whereunto fortunate and opulent States are euermore subiect) as may bee noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* Anno Reg. 37. wherein for the publike Good, certaine Sumptuary lawes, the most necessarie to preuent Ryot (that dissoluing sicknesse, the feuer Hectique of a State) were ordained both for Apparell and Dyet; appointing euery degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe and Habits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Siluer, Silkes, and rich Furres to all, except eminent persons. Whereby forraine superfluities were shut out, and home-made Commodities only vsed. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates hee should eate, &c. whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkennesse*, those hideous evils which haue since vtterly disfastioned and infeeblled the *English* Nation, were auoided. So carefull was this frugall King for preferuing the estates of his subiects from Excesse.

Vid. Stat.

Vid. Stat.

Clearly men
Officers to
the King.

And as prouident was hee for the ordering of his owne, committing his treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a certificat Anno Reg. 39. sent to Pope *Vrbane*, concerning Pluralities, and the estates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spirituality which bare office about this King, then any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon Langham* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, was Chancellor of *England*, *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Priuie Seale: *Dauid Weller*, Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Ciuilians, Masters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of *Saint Martins le Grand*, Chiefe Chamberlaine of the *Exchequer*, Receiuer and Keeper of the Kings treasure and Jewels: *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*: *William Dighton* Prebendary of *Saint Martins*, Clarke of the Priuie Seale: *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of *Saint Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings house: *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundall*, Master of the Kings Warde-robe: *John*

Newnham

Newnham, Parson of *Femi-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasurie and Jewels: *John Rousbie*, Parson of *Harwick*, Surueior and Comptroler of the Kings works: *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asbie*, Treasurer to the King for the partes of *Guifnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *John Troys* Treasurer of *Ireland* a Priest, and beneficed there. These men, beeing without those Feminine Ginnes of attraction and consumption, deuoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of *England*, The King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, and the Kings of *Cypres*: The occasions that moued the *French* King might be diuers, but it seemes the special were to free some Hostages that remained heere, and to cleare such imputations as were had of him, for not obseruing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine particular Lords, whose Homages were passed ouer to the King of *England*, protested against it; *Alledging*, how that the King could not dispose of the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his *Domaine*, and therefore they would not obey it. The *French* King notwithstanding, least King *Edward* should thinke this but a collusion betweene him and his subiects, publishes his Commandement for the obseruation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Besides, he had vndertaken a journey for the *Holy warres*, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might be the occasion of his comming, and not his loue to the Countesse of *Salisbury*, as is reported. But howfoeuer, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the Gaole, where he had indured so much affliction, and where shortly after his comming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of *England*, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Douer*, whence it was conuayed to *Saint Denys*, and entombed with his Ancestors.

The death of King Iohn of France.

1364

Anno.

Reg. 38

The businesse of Britaine accomodated for a time.

The debate for the Duchie of *Britaigne*, is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Bloys* slaine in a Battaille neere *Vannes*, by *Iohn de Monfort*, and the *Engliss* Forces, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Cauerley*. *Iohn de Monfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King *Edward*, and by his consent doth his homage for the Duchie, to *Charles* (now King of *France*) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Bloys* for a summe of money, and some estate in land.

And here we haue some time of rest, which the Souldier whom the warre had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in *France*, though they had no Head, yet had strong bodies, and did much mischief in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were employed in the Warres of *Spaine*, which fell out shortly after. A Company of them passed ouer into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Iohn Haucht*, a great Warriour, who found such entertainment with the Princes there (where he reuiued Militarie discipline, that had laine long vnused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his Statue amongst their memorable Princes for action and vertue, though he went but a *Taylor* out of this Kingdome, which in those dayes could haue furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

The Italians cal him Iohannes de Acuto.

And now heere haue wee brought this mightie King to the Fortieth yeere of his Raigne, which had it beene his last, wee had left him the most glorious and triumphant Prince in the world, to whom *Fortune* neuer yet shewed her backe, neuer was retrograd. But now these last ten yeeres present vs with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought vpon him. This new King of *France*, *Charles* the fift, Intituled *The wise*; recouered great aduantages vpon him, hauing in the life time of his Father struggled so with affliction (a better Mistresse of wisedome then prosperitie) and learned so well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now hee manages the same with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preservation of that State consisted more in counsell then force (which had beene too aduenturously employed by his Father and Grand-father) he workes his fortune by lying still, hauing excellent aydes and

Anno.

Re. 40.

1367.

Anno

Reg. 41

The Prince
of Wales aydes
the King of
Castile.

and ministers to execute his designs, and labour for him: of whom for his warres, *Guesclin a Brittain* whom hee made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to be recovered.

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Duchy of *Aquitayne*; with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter King of Castile*, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recouer the same: which the Prince vpon great promises of remuneration, vndertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better then the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso 11. King of Castile* had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his subiects, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to enrich himselfe, putting away, and after murdering his wife (which was daughter to *Peter Duke of Burbon*, and sister to the now Queene of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom hee afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother *Henry* (who though he were a bastard by his birth was more Legittimate by his vertues then hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of *Spaine* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to flye the kingdome. This *Peter* thus reiected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtie thousand, attended by his brother *John Duke of Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-inuest in his kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those floting companies fore-remembred, led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Dandrehen* Marshall of *France*; having besides of Castilians, Christians, and Sarasins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Vpon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battaille, the Prince of *Wales* hath the victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Bargos*.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, or cared not to prouide, but staruing him with delays, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without money to pay his Army, and which was worse without health, which he neuer after recouered. This successe had this vnfortunate action, vnder taken to right an vngratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the *Sarazins*, married his daughter, and renounced the Christian faith: but it is commonly the reward of euill pnces to be made worse then they are.

The Prince of *Wales* returning thus out of *Spaine*, charged with more debts then before, and destitute of meanes to content his people, fals vpon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies increase maladies) imposing a new taxation vpon the *Gascoignes*, of Feuage, or Chymney money, so discontented the people, as they exclaime against the gouernment of the *English*, and appeale to the King and Court of *France* for redresse. The King of *France*, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned ouer by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux* with sommons to answere before him and his Court at *Paris*, to these complaints.

Now had the Lords of *Arminiaque*, *D' Albert*, *Peregor*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their protestations against the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which, they say, they were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Soueraigne: that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, to dissiue them from the Crowne: that the Contract was made in prison, and therefore inuall, and not to be held by the right of Nations. So that they were resolu'd to spend their liues and estates, rather then bee vnder the gouernment of *England*. By their example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* rendered themselves to *Guy Conte de Saint Poll*, and *Guy de Chastillon*.

The King of *England* complains of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles 4.* who made a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the businesse. Before whom our Ambassadors first declare how this

Accord

The Prince
obtains the
victory in
Spaine.

The ill suc-
cesse of that
iourney.

1369

Anno.

Reg. 43

The Empe-
rour *Charles 4.*
makes a iour-
ny into *France*
to reconcile
the two Kings

Accord, hauing beene more for the good of France then vs, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to Normandie, Touraine, and Aniou, the fairest and richest Countreies of France: But also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in Souerainty the Duchy of Aquitayne, the Countie of Ponthieu, with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of England, whereby the effusion of Christian blood was stayed, France had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and vpon the most reasonable Conditions could bee deuised: Notwithstanding the French King, (who himselfe, with the whole Councell of France contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to obserue the same) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (asiter he had recovered his Hostages by fraud) seized both vpon the Duchy of Aquitayne, and the Countie of Ponthieu, without denouncing Warre, by his Heralds, &c.

The French Reply: How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to With-draw our Army out of France, which they say we did not, during all the Reigne of their King Iohn: That the Peace was thereby made more offensue then the War, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge then would haue maintained an Armie. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King Edward was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of France, in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King: they say, it cost France more gold, then the redeeming of Saint Louys their King, his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Armie, taken by the Soldan, an Infidell. Thus both sides defend their cause, being easie for Princes who will breake out of their Couenants to finde enasions. The French King (it seemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renew a Warre, and therefore with many Presents courts the King of England: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded, prepares to haue out his Sword. And hauing borrowed great summes of the Clergie, sends ouer Iohn Duke of Lancaster, and Humphry Bohun Earle of Hereford, with a mightie Armie to Calais, to inuade France on this side; whiles the Prince of Wales workes to recouer the reuolted Townes on the other. But little was effected, The Duke shortly returnes. And then Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, with fresh supplies is sent ouer, who dyes in the iourney. Sir Robert Knoles a man renowned in those times for valour and counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdaining to bee commanded by him whom they held their inferiour, ouerthrew themselves, and the Action.

Thus all went backe, and the French King growes both in State and Alliance. Margueret, sole daughter and Heire to Louys Earle of Flanders, to whom King Edward fought to match his sonne Edmond, is wonne to marry Philip Le Hardy Duke of Burgogne, brother to the French King. And this much vexes King Edward, who the better to furnish himselfe for reuenge, calles a Parliament at Westminster, wherein hee resumes his claime to the Crowne of France, and requires ayde of his Subiects and hath it. The Clergie granted him, fiftie thousand pounds, to be payde the same yeere; and the Laitie as much. For the leuying whereof, euery Parish in England was rated first to pay 23. shillings foure pence (the great helping the lesse) vpon supposition there had beene Parishes ynough to haue made vp that summe. But by certificate vpon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in euery Shire, they found it came short: and then rated euery Parish at fise pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to be in the 37. Shires, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raised. But in regard of the great pouertie of Suffolke and Deuon-shire, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered fiftie thousand pounds for the Laytie.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of Forests, should be obserued in all points: which in most Parliaments of his, is euer the first Act; as may bee seene in the printed Statutes. And now Iohn Duke of Lancaster, and Edmond Earle of Cambridge, are sent with Forces into Aquitayne, to ayde the Prince of Wales, who after he had sacked the Citie of Limoges, that was reuolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaues the prosecution of the Warre

to

The allegations of the English Ambassadors before the Emperour.

Vid. Append.

The Reply of the French.

Anno.
Re. 44

Forces sent into France.

Anno.
Reg. 45
A Subsidie granted by Parliament, and the manner of seizing the same.

The Duke of Lancaster sent into Aquitaine.

The Prince of
Wales returns
into England.

The Duke of
Lancaster mar-
ries Constance
daughter to
the King of
Castile.

1372.
Anno.
Re. 46

The Earle of
Pembroke taken
prisoner
by the Spa-
niard.

1373.
Anno.
Re. 47

Another Sub-
sidie granted
by Parlia-
ment.

1376.
Anno
Reg. 50

A Parliament
at Westminster
which was
called the
good Parlia-
ment.
The Duke of
Lancaster with
others banish-
ed the Court.

to his brother : and with his wife, and yong sonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, re-
turnes home into *England*, and here resignes vnto his father the Duchy of *Aquitayne*.

The Duke of *Lancaster*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but beeing
now a widdower (his wife dying two yeeres before, in the third great Pestilence, in
which yeere also *Philippe* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Constance*
eldest daughter to *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom hee had the empty title of King,
and was (after the death of his father-in-law) stiled King of *Castile* and *Leon*. This
Constance, though shee were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet
was so happy, that the daughter she had by this Duke of *Lancaster*, named *Katherine*,
became after Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*, (being married to *Henry* third in possession
before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posteritie Kings of
Spaine. *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, married also at the same time *Isabell* the yongest
daughter of King *Peter*, and both shortly after returned into *England*, though without
victory, yet with wiues. *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violenta*,
the Duke of *Millaines* daughter in *Italy*, where they feasted him so as shortly after he
died.

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *English*, had indured a long siege both
by Sea and land, to releuee which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent
with forty shippes well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twentie
thousand markes to defrey the voyage, who encountering the *Spanish* Armado sent to
ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell
conflict, is taken prisoner, and his Navy vtterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe,
though now aged, sets forth, with a mighty Army to recouer these losses, but thereby
lost more, the windes with his fortune being against him, beat him backe, hauing spen
in this preparation nine hundred thousand markes.

Shortly after, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, passes ouer againe to *Calais* with another
Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongst the
mountaines he lost many of his people for want of victuals, and almost all his horse,
so that he came to *Burdeaux* with a starued and distressed company, which after some
time he releuees and made certaine attempts vpon the enemy, but effected nothing, the
date of victories was out, all went ill with the *English*. The Duke returns the next
yeere, and all *Gascoigne* reuolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Cleargy, and a
fifteenth of the Laytie, towards these warres: which now are sought to bee ended
by treaty, an vnlikely way to doe any good. Two yeeres are spent therein, at *Bur-
ges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The
French hauing now the aduantage of the time, would make their owne conditions,
they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooued his
Staple, in regard of the danger of Marchants goods) and restitution of great summes
of money, which were not to be yeilded: So that nothing but tempory Truces were to
be gotten to serue present shifts, wherein the *English*, and their party, had cuer the
worfe.

And here at home, besides the sicknesse of the Prince (which grew desperate)
the State is diseased, the Kings age is misled, his treasure exhausted, and his affaires
ill managed. A Parliament to cure these euils, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings
wants are opened, and supplies required: the whole body of the Assembly, weary
to beare these continuall burthens, in steed of Contributions, exhibit Complaints,
charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lan-
caster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlayne, Dame *Alice* *Peirce*, the Kings
Concubine, and one Sir *Richard* *Sturmy*, might be amoued from Court. Their Com-
plaints and desire are so vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter* *La Mare*,
as the King rather then not to be supplied, gaue way vnto them, and all these per-
sons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to fauour their proceeding,
for there seemes to bee no good correspondence betweene him and his brother the
Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all vnder his aged father, and whose ambi-
tion

tion might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leaue to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeere of his raigne, to gratifie his Subiects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Iubile*; wherein onely *William Wicham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Iubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales* which happened in this Parliament time. A heauy losse to the State, being a Prince of whom we neuer heard any ill, neither receiued other note then of goodnes, and the noblest performances, that Magnanimity and Wisedome could euer shew: in so much, as what praise can be giuen to Vertue, is due vnto him. His death changed the face of affaires. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. *S^r. Peter de la Mare*, at the suite of *Alice Pierce*, an impudent woman (working vpon the Kings inpotencies) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Notingham*. An acte without example of former times, and did no good in this, especially beeing wrought by such a subiect. This woman presuming vpon the Kings fauour, whom she had subdued, grew so insolent (the common euill of such fortunes) that shee enteredmed with Courts of Iustice and other Offices, where she her selfe would sit to effect her desires: which, though in all who are so exalted, are euer excessiue, yet in a woman most inmoderate, as hauing lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to haue the Regency, and to manage all the affaires of the Kingdom, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to preuent the mischiefes, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, prouidently setled the same in the Parliament, vpon *Richard of Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornewall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his present safety, least, *John* of *Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *John* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizins of *London*, put him so by, as hee durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet hee behaues himselfe very imperiously in this state hee had. And first shewes his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him ouer to the guarding of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and rather yeeldes vp his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, then obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and giues it with the Office, to *Sir Henry Percy*, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether a now; or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of a 11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seat, and taught him to demand a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to bee payde in one yeare: Or twelue pence in the pound of al Marchandizes sold, for one yeare; and one pound of siluer for euery Knights Fee; and of euery Fire-house one penny. And this Demand the Duke earnestly viges, Saying, one of them ought of necessitie to be granted, in regard the Enemy proclaying Warre, purposed to invade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they sayd, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelue which hee could not alter) require respite to answere: a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliuer their answere. The other would haue *Sir Peter de la Mare* to bee enlarged, and deliuer theirs; and also answere to what could be objected against him, before the Lords in Parliament, and thereto submitte himselfe. Then the Duke demands ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treat therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gaue interruption to this businesse. A certaine Diuine, named *John Wicliff*, deprived by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* of a benefice

Another *Iubile*.

The death of the Prince of *Wales*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* returns with the rest, to the Court. The reuenge and behaviour of *Alice Pierce*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* gouernes all. *Richard* of *Burdeaux* created Prince of *Wales*.

The Earle of *March* resignes his Office of *Marshall*, which is giuen to *Sir Henry Percy*.

John Sow. The Prince motions a Subsidy in diuers kinds.

The Parliament diuided.

A dissention
about *Iohn*
Wicliffe.

His doctrine.

The Duke of
Lancaster fa-
uours *Wicliffe*
and why.

The conuen-
tion of *Wi-*
cliffe before
the Bishops in
Pauls.

The Citizens
of *London* take
their Bishops
part.

The Citizens
in vprore.

benefice in *Oxford*, which hee was found vniustly to holde, had heretofore, beeing discontented (the humour that commonly breedes Scisme) inueighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles against the abuses of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then so free from scandall, but might well be taxed) and had by his doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Disciples vnto him (who after were called Lollards) professing pouerty, going bare-footed, and poorely cladde in russet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get passage into the opinion of the people, apt to imbrace nouelties, and vsually beguiled by disguises, in regard they rather *believe* then *indge*. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could giue any thing in *Perpetuitie* vnto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of such religious persons to relieue them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, &c. A doctrine very pleasing to great men, who commonly imbrace Sects, either for ambition to get, or for iealousie not to lose, or for hatred to reuenge.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Percy*, much fauour and cherish, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him so farre presume, as hee dayly in one Church or other published his opinions without feare: whereupon at length hee is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London* and others, in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him: by the way hee is animated by his followers not to feare the Bishops, and entring into *Pauls*, the presse is so great, as hardly any passage could be made, whereupon the Marshall vsing some violence, thrust in vpon the people, which *Courtney*, Bishop of *London* prohibited him to doe, saying: *If he had knowne he would haue behaved himselfe so in that place, hee should not haue come into the Church*. The Duke hearing these words, angrily replied, *That the Marshall should execute his authority, whether he would or not*. When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Bishops, sitting downe, *Iohn Wicliffe* (sent for in by the Lord Marshall) was by himselfe willed to sit downe, in regard hee slide, the man had much to answer, and needed a conuenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, it was against all law and reason, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, should sit: hereupon contumelious words arose betweene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop, the Duke takes the Marshalls part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop, the Bishop returns the like to the Duke, who in great rage, seeing he could not preuaile, wore *hee would pull downe the pride of him, and all the Bishops of England. You trust, said hee, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I trust not in my Parents, said the Bishop, nor in any man liuing, but in God in whom I ought to trust*. The Duke, as if whispering in his eare, told him, *hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, then suffer these indignities*: which words the *Londoners* ouer-hearing, swore with a loud voyce, *they would rather lose their liues, then suffer their Bishop to be thus iniurioustly vsed, and threatened to be pulled out of his owne Church*. Their fury was the more incensed against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof hee was presider) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captaine appointed for the gouernment of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of *England* should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

About this businesse, and this wrong offered to their Bishop, the Citizens assembling the morrow after, to consult among themselves, it happened the Lord *Fitzwater*, and *Guido Brian*, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ranne vpon them, and were like to beate them downe for conming vsent for, at that time. The Lord *Fitzwater* protested he came to no other ende, but to offer his seruice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take iniuries offered to them, as to himselfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Armes, assaile the Marshalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Gyues, and let him at liberty, but found

not.

not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude run to assaile the *Sauoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Master dyed, and acquaints him with this vp-roare in this City. The Duke leapes from the Table so hastily, that hee hurt both his shinnes in the Fourme, and with Sir *Henry Piercy*, alone takes boate, and away he gets to *Kennington*, neere *Lambeth*, where the Princeesse with the young Prince lay; to whom he complaynes of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Sauoy*, a Priest inquisitiue to know the businesse, was answered, *They went to take the Duke and the Lord Marshall, and compell them, to deliuer Sir Peter de la Mare, vniustly detained in prison.* The Priest replied; *That Sir Peter was a traytour to the King, and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out; *This is Piercie, this is the traytour of England, his speech bewrayes him though his Apparrell be disguised:* and presently they ran vpon him, and wounded him to death.

The Duke of Lancaster in danger flees to the Princeesse.

The Bishop of London hearing of this Out-rage, leaues his dinner, hastes to the *Sauoy*, admonishes them to be mindfull of the Holy time, beeing Lent, and for the loue of Christ to desist from such seditious acts; assuring them, al things should be fairely ended for the good of the City. Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbore to assault the Dukes house, whose person (if they could haue found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their fury, at that time; but misling him, they yet hung vp his Armes reuerfed, in signe of treason in all the principall streetes of the City.

The Bishop of London appeases the tumult.

The Princeesse from *Kennington*, sent *Albert de Vere*, *Louys Clifford*, and *Simon Burleigh* to the citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answere, *That for her Honour they would doe whatsoeuer shee commanded:* but yet enioyned the Knights, to will the Duke, to permit the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de la Mare to come to their Answere, according to the custome of the Lawes of England. They sent likewise of the chiefe Citizens to the sicke King, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting themselves not to be priuy therunto, but sought all meanes to suppress the same, which they could not doe (the whole Communalty being in commotion) vpon an Information, that their Liberties should be taken away from them by Parliament. The King tolde them, *It neuer was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but hee rather desired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleased with this answere. But yet they could not stop the passage of rimes and libels (those secret stings that wound vnseene) but that they were dayly spread in the Citie to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Author of all such Rimes, and Libels.

The Citizens send to the King.

Notwithstanding, this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time so vnseasonable, both for his owne Ends and the publike businesse he vndertooke; The Commons in Parliament, desirous to ayde their King, granted a Subsidie on this condition, that being leauied, it should be committed to certaine Earles and Barons to see it issued, according to the occasions of the Kingdome. But this Subsidie was of a new nature neither in any of those kinds propounded. Euery person, man and woman within the Kingdome, aboue the Age of 14. yeeres, were to pay 4. pence, those who liued by Almes onely excepted. The Clergie likewise grants 12. pence of euery Parson Beneficed; and of all other Religious persons 4. pence of the head, A mighty and vnkowne ayde, such as neuer was granted to any King of England before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne: wherein it caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that euer was seene in this Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

A Subsidy granted in this Parliament.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended: but not the Dukes displeasure against the Citie. The Maior and Aldermen are brought before the King of *Shene*, and aduised to submit themselves to the Duke, and craue pardon for their grievous offences. They protest as before: they could not stay the rage of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not to punish such as were innocent and ignorant

ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke, they would in deauour by all means to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more, said they, we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of Lancaster. Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appoynted in their places, who were put out.

The King was desirous to haue reconciled them to his Sonne, but sicknesse hauing now vanquished him, hee is forced to giue ouer the world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what shee could snatch, euen to the rings of his fingers, left him: then his other attendants, by her example, seasing on what they could fasten, shift away, and all his Councellors and others forsooke him in his last agony when most hee needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty: which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance as hee passes, approaches to the Kings beds side, and finding him yet breathing, calles vpon him to remember his Sauour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but euery one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was vpon him (a misery fatal to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will neuer suffer to know themselves, nor their owne state either in health or sicknesse) made him neglectiue of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred vp by the voyce of this Priest, hee shewes all signes of contrition, and his last breath expresse the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his Mannor of *Sheene* (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of June, *Anno, Dom. 1377.* in the 64. yeare of his Age, hauing raygned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde dayes.

The death of
King Edward
and the man-
ner thereof.

His Chara-
cter.
His Iustice.

His loue to
his people.

His prou-
dence.

His Character wee finde best exprest in his actions, yet thus briefly. Hee was a Prince, the soonest a man and the longest that held so, of any wee reade. Hee was of Personage comely, of an euen stature, gracefull, respectiue affable, and well expresseing himselfe: A Prince who loued 1. *Iustice*, 2. *Order*, 3. and his *People*, the Supream vertues of a Soueraigne. 1. His loue of *Iustice*, was seene by the many Statutes he made for the due execution thereof, and the most straight-binding oath, hee ordayned to be ministred vnto his Iudges and Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, causing some to bee thrust out, and others grievously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*, *Anno, Reg. 39.* He bettered also that forme of publike Iustice which his grand-father first began (and which remaines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to the obseruation of *Order* amongst his people, witness so many lawes, as were made to restrayne them for Excesses in all kinds. 3. His loue to his subiects, was exprest in the often easing of their grieuances, and his willingnesse to giue them all faire satisfaction, as appears by the continuall granting of the due obseruation of their *Charters* in most of his Parliaments. And when (*Anno, Reg. 14.*) they were iealous, vpon his assuming the title of the Kingdome of *France*, least *England* should thereby come to be vnder the subiection of that crowne, as being the greater, hee to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statute, in the firmeest manner could be deuised, that this Kingdome should remaine intyre as before, without any violation of the rights it had.

Prouident he was in all his actions, neuer vndertaking any thing before hee had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his subiects allowed him more with lesse adoe, then euer any of his Predecessors had: and hee as fairely issued what he receiued from them, hauing none other priuate vent of profusion, then his enterprises for aduancing the state, and honour of the Kingdome. True it is that most at- tent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without the Sackage of any man, such as his grand-father made vpon the Officers of *Iustice*, the *Jewes* and officers.

For his gifts we finde them not such as either hurt his owne fame and reputation, or any way distast the state. To be short, he was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was he better obeyed, better respected and serued then any of his Predecessors.

His

His Workes of Pietie were great and many, as the founding of *East-minster*, an Abbey (of the *Cisteaux* Order) neere the Towre. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Detford*. The *Kings Hall* in *Cambridge* for poore *Schollers*. An Hospitall for the poore at *Calais*. The building of *Saint Stephens* Chappell at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound, *per annum*, to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at *Windfor*, and provisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore *Knights*, &c. These were his publique Workes, the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the memorie of Princes. Besides these, his priuate buildings are great and many; as the Castle of *Windfor*, which he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His workes of Pietie.

His buildings

His Magnificence.

His Wife, and his issue.

His magnificence was shewed in his Triumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preseruers of Reuerence and Maiestie. To conclude, he was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office; as onely made for it. Those defaillances wee finde in him at last, wee must not attribute to him but his age, wherein we neuer yet saw Prince happie. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilest this Prince held together he was indissoluable, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Ladie of excellent vertue, who though shee brought him little or none Estate, she brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. She drew euently with him in all the courses of Honor that appertained to her side, and seemes a peece so iust cut for him, as answer'd him rightly in euery io, nt. Gracious and louing shee euer shewed her-selfe to this Nation, and did many workes of Pietie, amongst which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her Name, and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this King and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings had the two best Wiues. Which shewes that *worthinesse* is such an *Elixar* as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnes in the same Metall, it will render it of the Propertie: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise then they were hauing so excellent Husbands.

Shee bare vnto him seuen sonnes, whereof five liued to haue Issue; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Torke*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, which became Duke of *Glocester*. Foure daughters (of five she bare) liued to be married. *Isabel* the eldest, to *Ingelram* Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soissons*, and *Bedford*. *Ioan* to *Alphonso* II. King of *Castile*, but she dyed before she lay with him. *Mary*, to *Iohn* Monfort Duke of *Brittaine*, *Margarot*, to *Iohn* *Hastings*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and shee also dyed without Issue.

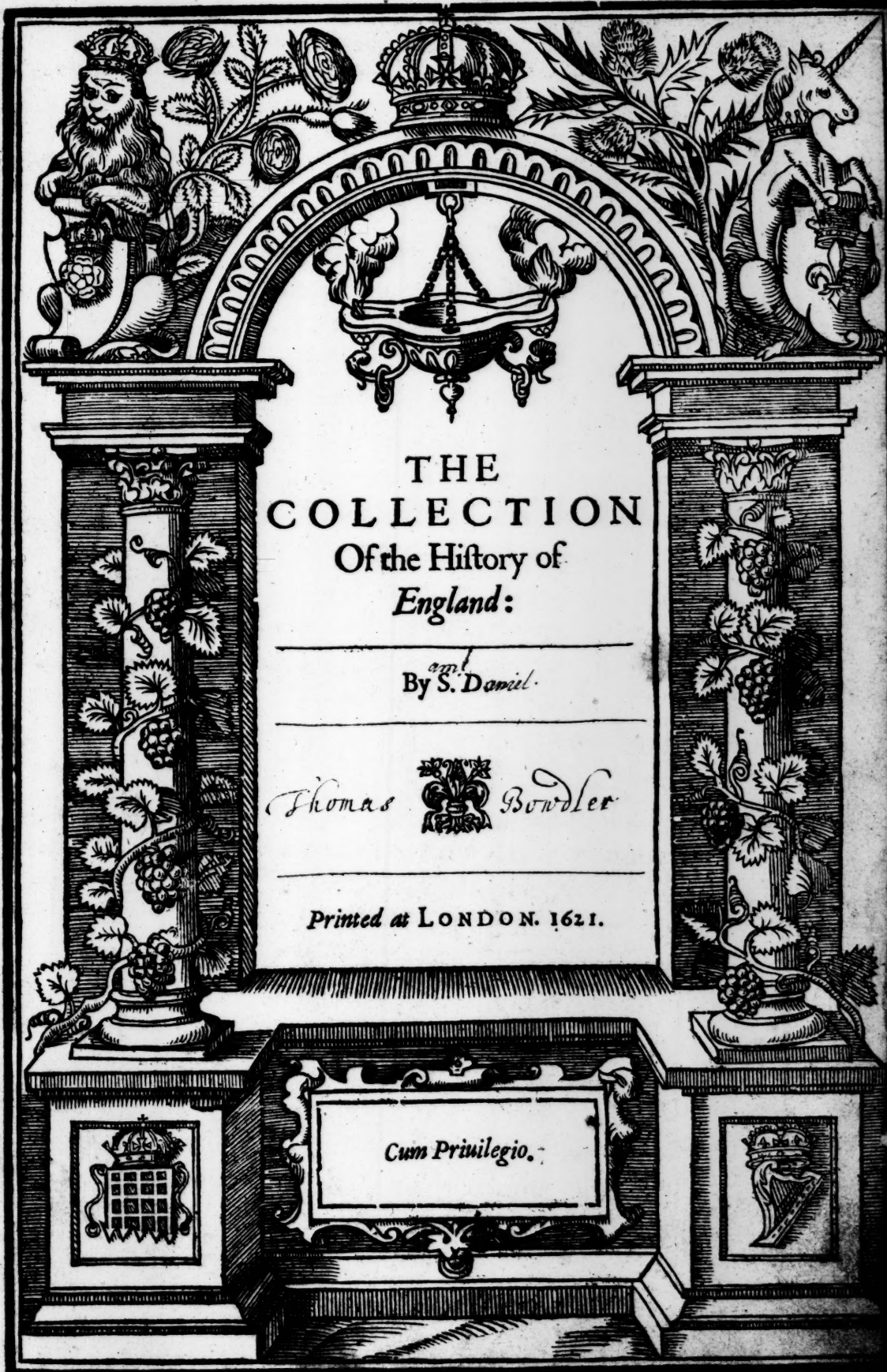
Thus haue we seene the end of this great King: who, how he came to the Crowne, we know, and now how he left it wee see: in both are considerations of importance. His stepping ouer his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, hauing so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, he had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate: but left the same (worse then he found it) to a Childe of eleuen yeeres of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which ouer weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: to broken and distracted inheritances abroad: himselfe hauing seene all his great gettings, purchased with so much expence, trauaile, and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remaining, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To shew that our Bounds are prescribed vs, and a Pillar set by him who beares vp the Heauens, which we are not to transpasse.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of Edward the third.

T*Hus farre haue I brought this Collection, of our History, and am now come to the highest exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Gouvernment reared up with all those maine Couplements of Forme and Order, as haue held it together euer since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our ciuill discord, by the No-nage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the same. And here Ileauē, vnlesse by this which is done I finde incouragement to goe on.*







THE
COLLECTION
Of the History of
England:

am^t
By S. Davis.

Thomas  Bowdler

Printed at LONDON. 1621.

Cum Privilegio.

THE
COLLECTION
Of the History
England

By

James & London

James & London

TO THE MAIESTY
OF ANNE OF DEN
MARKE QUEENE OF ENG
land, Scotland, France and Ireland.

Queenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the blessing of succession that preserues the Kingdome, hauing their parts running in the times wherein they liue, are likewise interested in the Histories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they haue left to be in this world. And therefore to you, great *Queene of England* (and the greater by your loue to the nation, and the blessing you haue brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest seruant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Maiestie, being for the most part done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your sacred person: and if euer it shall come to bee an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought forth vnder the splendor of your goodnes. Howsoever, this which is done shall yet shew how desirous I haue beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend, to doe

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

your Maiestie, and my Country seruice in this kinde.

And though at high Altars, none but high Priests ought to sacrifice, yet vouchsafe mightie Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Maiesties

Humblest seruant,

Samuel Danyel.

Certaine



Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.

THis Peece of our History, which here I divulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy persons as haue fauoured my indeauors herein, should long since haue beene much more: and come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire. But being otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payd by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeeld as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the worke of one man (were hee of neuer so strong forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, although the inquisition of Ancient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I finde most Laborious: and I know, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, especially in this kinde, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Master of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of waste roomes ill proportioned, and unfurnished: and I know many others are of my minde.

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an account whence I had my furniture: which if I haue omitted to charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Lives of William the First, William the Second, Henry the First, and Stephen;

TO THE READER.

Stephen; I haue especially followed William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houueden, Huntingdon, with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of others for those times. In the Lives of Henry the Second, Richard the First, Iohn, and Henry the Third: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Weltminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, and others. In the Lives of Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Third: Froissart and Walsingham, with such collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow and Speed, diligent and famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forrayne busineses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors, Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truely vnderstand our owne affaires. And where otherwise I haue had any supplies extraordinary, either out of Record, or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal haue the Stampe of Antiquitie, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would haue this Breuiarie to passe with an vn-interrupted deliuey of the especiall affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainments, prouisions of Armies, busineses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which as soone as I haue meanes to Print shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make vse of such Materials; accompany this Collection: and to this Appendix, I haue made references in the Margin, as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can chalenge nothing therein but onely the sewing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: desirous to deliuer things done, in as euene, and quiet an order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Belcefe of Antiquity, deprauing the actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with integritie (the chiefe duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof

TO THE READER.

to the Reader, as being his part rather than mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings, or the Printers ouersight, I must craue a pardon of course; it is a Fate common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoide it: For besides our owne saylings, we must heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfekt to our hands: as the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battayle, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Tytles &c. wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars then we haue, especially for (summes of Monies (in regard it serues much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue bene but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. of July, and the 6. of August, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that hee desires. But these things being but of the By, the vnderstanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important consideration.



Speciall Priuiledge, Licence and Authority, is granted by the Kings Maiesties Letters Patents, vnto the Author *Samuel Daniel*, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honourable priuy Chamber, for him, his Executors, Administrators, Assignes or Deputies, to Print, or cause to be Imprinted, and to sell, assigne, and dispose, to his, or their benefit, This Booke, intituled, *The Collection of the History of England, with an Appendix* to the same, hereafter to bee printed. Streightly forbidding any other to imprint or cause to be imprinted, to import, vtter or sell, or cause to be imported, vttered, or solde, the sayd Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, within any of his Maiesties Dominions, vpon paine of his Maiesties high displeasure, and to forfeit Fiue pounds lawfull *English* Monie for euery such Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, printed, imported, vttered, or solde, contrary to the meaning of this Priuiledge, besides the forfeiture of the said Booke, Books, &c. as more at large appeareth by his Maiesties said Lettes Patents, dated at *Westminster*, the 11. of March, in the 15. yeare of his Reigne of *England*, and of *Scotland* the one and Fiftieth.



THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND: CONTAINING

BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AFFAIRES
OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPILED

led by **SAMUEL DANIEL**, one of the

Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most

Honorable private Chamber.

Vndertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first British Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogues; but finding no authentical warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire, with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William the first*, Surnamed the *Bastard*) was more then enough for my abilitie; and how it was but our curiositie to search further backe into times past, then we might well discern, and whereof, wee could neither haue proofe, nor profit: How the beginnings of all people, and States were as yncertaine, as the heads of great Rivers; and could not adde to our vntilke, and peradventure little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouertie, pyracie, robberie, and violence, how soeuer fabulous writers (to glorifie their nations) strue to abuse the credulitie of a later age with hypocrisall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best scene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (to seme) God in his providence to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertainie, and barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compass of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrences of all ages, and all nations, it might more suffice, but not better our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencie to hold in the actions of men: Virtues, and Vices the same, though rising; and mutations of States to be alike; and the traie of affaires carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, ynder like colours.



Of the forme
of Govern-
ment among
the Brittaines.

Cas. Comm.
lib. 5.

*Complures sunt
apud eos domi-
nationes. Sero-
bo lib. 4.*

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a link of dependencie with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if wee take but a superficial view of that wide and vncertainly-related State of this Land, since the candle of leaues gave vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Province to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Julius Caesar*, being but on the other side in *Gaul*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could use, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state, and condition of the in-dwellers, they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledge then what concerned their trade, or the people here so warie to keepe their state reserved and unknowne to strangers. And yet *Caesar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gauls* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof hee only subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

But now, what was the state, and forme of government among the *Brittaines* before this subiection, the first certaine notice wee haue (is also by the same *Caesar*) who tells vs how they were deuided into many seuerall states: nominates foure Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Cassivellannus*, by the common councell was elected, in this their publique danger, to haue the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the cities sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby we perceiue it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to haue bene, but like to the *Gauls*, with whom it was then one in religion (and much a like in fashion, and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule, or combination. As now, wee see all the west world (lately discovered) to be, and generally all other Countries are in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to be taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themselves, of strength, and vnderstanding to ouer-master, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of *Brittaine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the west parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouer-growing first the people of *Italy* in like manner deuided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then termed Kings, were but as their *Generalls* in warre, without any other great jurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as it alone unlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to give entertainment to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresse in the affaires of mankind; and easily the inuention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, & *Idol* of the pulpit. Customes they see in use. For had there bene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue assured the *Romans* with the power of a well-vnted State, it had bene impossible for them (having oftentimes much to doe even with some poore Prince of a small territory) to haue circumvented, or confounded (with all their stratagems, and iniustice) the peace, and liberty of the world in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then simple, and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more iust, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sense of honour, and worthinesse) as themselves. But having no firme combinations to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the advantage of the common enemy, working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such diuisions; and were made the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilest euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome. So that with what credit, the accounts of a thousand yeares from *Druid* to *Cassivellannus* (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will be creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon lest being bus to report, I might

seeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preferred and delivered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by the *Romanes*; who (sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue bene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druides*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge committed not their mysteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perishe with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman State*, bene so vterly extinct, but that we should haue heard something more of them.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Livy* saith) before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world, many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germany*, and other Countreies on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing: but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; only *Mersillus*, a *Colonia* of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into *Gaul*, and so hither: but they say the *Mersillians* vsed onely Greeke Characters at first, but for their priuate accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise, So that it seemes then, the *Brittaines* received first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Praefect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, caused them heere to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his sonne in law) reports vpon this occasion. *Aduice was taken, sayth he, that the people dispersed, rude, and so, apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted priuately, and ayded them publicly to the building of Temples, Bowses, Pallaces: commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honour was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, above the Gaules, in so much as they who lately scorned the *Romane tongue*, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the *Gowne* frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapssion into those softnings of vices: faire houses, bathe, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of servitude.* Thus far he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cause of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the Greeke tongue, so many hundred yeares before) would haue bene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes*, and not needed this emolliation by learning. Philosophie would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subiection, that they could not haue bene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue bene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be iudged.

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romanes*, gouerned by their Praefects: and if they had Kings of the British Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to haue Kings the instruments of seruitude: speaking of *Cogodannus*, to whom *Claudius* gaue certaine Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cesar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much, as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all-incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Countrey lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had settled the foueraignty, and posselt all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their owne accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of sub-

Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, ubi belli Britannici exitum expectari scribit, nullius ex ea spem praede, nisi ex mancipijs, ait, ex quibus nullo puto te, literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, parvis eos cum Scythis barbaris infirmulat.

Iugenio Gallorū partim similes sunt, partim simpliciores, & magis barbari, Strabo lib. 4. And it was after the subiection of Gaulle that they intertayed Philosophers, and Phisitions for publique Readings, and became a schoole for those parts as we may perceiue by Strabo libro 2.

Nostra etate, Inquit Strabo, lib. 4. Regulorum quidem Britannicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam Augusti Cæsar. consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiarem, Ro-